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A
SHORT SKETCH
OF
ENGLISH MISRULE
IN
IRELAND.

(1171—1887.)

BY

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London:

SWAN SONNENSCHN, LOWREY & Co.
PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

1887.

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ENGLISH MISRULE IN IRELAND.

IN order to understand the question which is now so profoundly exercising the minds of the English people it is necessary to study, in some measure, the history of the connection between England and Ireland for some generations back. A knowledge of the past is the only key that will unlock the unfortunate and complex situation of the present. To the majority of Englishmen the Irish appear a savage and ungenerous race of people, who reject our friendship and scorn our sympathies, and on whom the English milk of human kindness has been poured for generations in vain.

The English press, and especially the illustrated part of it, is responsible in a great degree

for this widespread ignorance among all classes in England of the true character of the Irish people. To brand an ill-used and conquered race with all the worst qualities of human nature has, in all ages of the world, been a favourite trick of the governing classes. Indeed, it has passed into a proverb that those whom we injure we revile and hate ; and if ever history proved the truth of the adage it has in the case of our treatment of Ireland. Since the days when we first set foot on Irish soil we have persistently and deliberately sown the seed of discord, and we have as uniformly reaped the inevitable crop of rebellion.

Whether we consider the amount of suffering and misery the Irish people have been subjected to by us, or the long period over which that suffering and misery has extended, I do not believe the entire history of the world can offer a parallel. It is a melancholy and humiliating reflection, how great a part of the evils and sufferings of mankind is due to the ignorance and stupidity of rulers. To all thoughtful men this fact has long been patent, and it is now gradually becoming known to the great bulk of

the people, who for the first time in our history are called upon to exercise the right of choosing their lawmakers. The most advanced, the most highly-civilized nations have been those in which political freedom has had the broadest basis; and national intellectual development has always been in proportion to the political enfranchisement of the people. Justice and enlightenment have been the outcome of extended suffrage, and now that many of the people have at length obtained their long-withheld rights we may expect more rapid improvement than heretofore.

I do not believe for a moment that if the working classes had possessed political power they would have permitted the various English Governments to rule the Irish nation in the brutal manner they have done for so many generations, to the indelible disgrace of the English name all over the world. I have great hope in the rising power and justice of the Democracy, and I believe the day is fast waning in which titled impostors and plutocratic non-entities have been enabled to fill all the departments of state, and usurp the functions of the Legislature and the Government, to the detri-

ment and almost the ruination of the people, not only of Ireland, but of England also; for the cause of the Irish is really the cause of the English. Landlordism is at the bottom of all the troubles in Ireland, and most of the troubles in England. It is the upas tree that the English and Irish Democracy combined must not only cut down, but tear up by the roots, and relieve the soil of its poisonous and pestiferous shade. This is the real incubus of modern civilization, which cripples the springs of industry, and poisons all the healthy streams of life. Who among our coming men will first lay the axe to the root?

The privileged classes in England, by way of explanation of the discontent, misery, and poverty of the Irish people, say they are dissolute, idle, and ignorant. As a comment on this, we may say—it is a matter of history that, centuries before we landed in Ireland, and when the English roamed their forests in a naked and savage state, the Irish had attained to considerable culture and civilization. Their University at Armagh at the time of the Conquest was the most celebrated in the world; most of the Universities of Europe were pre-

sided over by Irishmen ; many of the principal professorial chairs in those Universities were filled by Irishmen ; and the island contained a great number of seminaries of the highest distinction, to which students flocked from all parts of the world.

Our Alfred the Great invited over an Irishman to preside over the University of Oxford. And when, at an earlier date, Diocletian and other Roman Emperors persecuted the Christians, many passed over from Britain and elsewhere to Ireland, where they found a peaceful place of refuge, and were kindly and hospitably treated. When, during the middle ages, the lamp of learning flickered fitfully and faintly in Europe, in Ireland it burnt steadily and brightly ; and it is no exaggeration to say that the learning of the ancient world was to a great extent preserved in Ireland when it had almost died out in every other part. I do not mean to say that the Irish transmitted to us the learning of the ancients : that was the result of the study of the works that came down to us at a time when reaction set in, and Europe began to throw off the dark cloud by which, through certain causes, the mind had been so long

oppressed. This, however, does not derogate from the credit of the Irish. The fact remains, that when all Europe was in a state of comparative barbarism, the Irish people were learned, cultivated, and prosperous.

At the time of the conquest of Ireland by Henry II., 1171, the social system consisted of a number of clans, or septs, as they were called, each sept having a chief, and possessing a portion of land which was the common property of the septal community. No individual member of the sept, not even the chief, could own one foot of land as private property. Every male child born in Ireland had therefore an inalienable right in the soil of which no one could deprive him.

The Irish held the doctrine (which is now rapidly spreading in our country) that, as the soil is the original source of all wealth, without which it is impossible to support life on the earth, and, as the labour of man is powerless to create a single foot of land, there is, and can be, no justification for private property in land. That which is the gift of nature, and which is absolutely essential to human life, belongs to the entire human race, and is the common

heritage of all, without any distinction whatsoever.

Any man who possesses the power of saying that the land shall be cultivated or not, as he thinks fit, possesses the power of stopping the supplies of human food, possesses, in fact, the power of life and death over his fellow-man. And he who advocates his right to the earth is bound to prove his right to the lives of his fellow-creatures. The theory of private property in land is so manifestly opposed to the public welfare, and so immoral and unjust, that no legislator has ever had the hardihood to embody the right in an Act of Parliament. There is no law in England sanctioning private property in land. These were the views of the Irish on this subject at the time of the English Conquest.

This just and wise land system provided food for all, and there was, consequently, no such thing as poverty in Ireland. The pangs of hunger, and all the miseries arising therefrom, were unknown in that country before the advent of the English. Henry stayed but a short time in Ireland, but before leaving he took a large quantity of land from the people

and parcelled it out among his followers, and gave them permission to add to their estates, thus acquired by robbery, by similar acts of lawless depredations. The lands taken by the English were situated chiefly in Munster and Leinster, and came to be known as "The Pale," the boundaries of which were contracted or enlarged, according as the marauders were successful or otherwise in the incessant warfare they waged with the Irish Chieftains. Thus did the first English conqueror plant the first agrarian upas tree in Ireland, and bitter has been the fruit to the Irish people.

Henry being summoned to Normandy by the Pope's authority to answer for the murder of Thomas a Becket, dubbed himself the Lord of Ireland, and left the island and its people to the tender mercies of the soldiers of fortune, to whom the above-mentioned grants of land had been made. These people had *carte blanche* to do as they pleased ; they were subject to no law either Irish or English ; and, in their intercourse with the natives, were restrained or actuated by no considerations but those of self-interest. Irish development, social, intellectual, and material, was thus brought to a standstill ;

and such has been the conduct of the governing classes that, during the long period of seven hundred years, it has made no advance beyond the point at which it was arrested. Nay, the literal truth compels us to admit that the great body of the Irish people are in a much worse condition now than they were at the time of their subjugation.

At that period they were ahead of the world, and steadily advancing on the road of progress; they were well fed, well housed, and comfortably clothed, and peace and concord reigned among them. They had a long history of unbroken gradual development, extending back many centuries; and as their country was exceptionally and specially gifted by nature, and the cares of the body were reduced to a minimum, by the justice of the social system, their minds were, in an eminent degree, predisposed to a continuance of that growth and development by which they had been hitherto distinguished. We may, perhaps, be permitted to indulge in fancy the idea that, in the natural evolution of the Irish system might have been found the solution of those great problems with which Europe is now confronted, and which sooner

or later must result in tremendous catastrophes.

To say that Ireland has made no advance for seven hundred years may appear to many a very absurd statement, since her chief cities will compare favourably with those of other parts of Europe; and her sons and daughters are among the most cultivated and learned in the world. Yet, nevertheless, I assert that, with the vast bulk of the people of Ireland, such is really the case; in proof of which we have but to realize the actual condition of the four millions of people who live by agriculture—their periodical famines, their perpetual insufficiency of the poorest food, their mud hovels, their scanty raiment, and the never-ending pressure of the military and police, unroofing their homes, and throwing them out—men, women, and children—into the roadside in the coldest depth of winter, when exposure to these poor ill-fed, ill-clothed people means disease, fearful suffering, and death.

In a fertile region like Ireland it is impossible that there should not be a portion of the inhabitants in a prosperous state. These belong to the commercial class, and the parasites and hangers-on of the landlords. They

are the blatant Orangemen, and a few others, and are called in England "loyalists" and contented subjects. They may well be "loyal" and contented, for, though but a fraction of the inhabitants, their grasping covetousness absorbs nearly the whole wealth of the country. The people may be evicted from their homes and starve in thousands, while these "loyalists" prosper and flourish, and are loud in their praise of the system under which such things exist. Every page in the history of mankind bears witness to the unbounded greed and wealth of the few, and the poverty and misery of the multitude—the "rights" of the few, the wrongs of the many.

It is to these people men like Mr. John Bright point when they speak of the loyal and law-abiding part of Ireland—a mere fraction of the inhabitants—whose wealth is actually due to the bad laws and bad government of the country; and to the great body of the people, the starving and ill-treated four millions, when they speak of the "rebels" and "lawless," whose misery and poverty are directly due to those very same bad laws and bad government by which the handful of wealthy and contented

“loyalists” have so much benefited. We shall do well to bear in mind that the “rebel and lawless” Irishmen and women, are not now confined to Ireland, they exist in millions beyond the seas, and are ever growing in numbers and intensity of hatred of that power which not only made them “rebels and lawless,” but drove them from their homes and their country.

To return to our narrative. When Henry left his Norman barons and their followers practically masters of a good part of the country, and independent of law, we can readily understand the condition which must have ensued. The Irish Chieftains, and the people who had been deprived of their land, and, therefore, of their bread, were constantly watching their opportunity of attacking the barons, to regain possession of their property; while, on the other hand, the barons and their followers were as constantly on the look out for opportunities of extending their possessions by further conquest. And thus a constant warfare was kept up between the two parties. Eventually, however, they settled down, and in course of time would, no doubt, by intermarriage

and other friendly relations, have completely sunk their differences, and become one people, with the same interests and pursuits. Indeed, the early English, or rather Norman-English, did, to a very great extent, amalgamate with the Irish people ; and had it not been for the unaccountably foolish policy of the English Government the two peoples would have become one ; as was the case in this country with the Normans, Saxons, and Danes, and as has always been the case with the conquerors and the conquered when unrestricted intercourse has been permitted.

The policy, if such it could be called, of the English Government was, however, to keep the two peoples apart, and at enmity one with the other ; and to this end laws were enacted of the most severe and barbarous nature, which, in pursuance of the above-mentioned policy, were directed against the English settlers as well as the native Irish. It was no crime for an Englishman to murder an Irishman or violate an Irishwoman ; and, in fact, the Irish had absolutely no redress for anything they might suffer at the hands of the English. So intolerable had this state of things become, that,

during the reign of Edward I., in 1272, just about one hundred years after the conquest, the Irish petitioned the British Parliament to extend to their unfortunate and distracted country the full benefit of English law, for which they offered to pay. The petition was refused. Had it been granted, though it would have been an entire subversion of every vestige of Irish law, there can be no doubt it would have been a great boon to the people.

In 1295 an Irish Parliament was created, which was constituted almost entirely of Englishmen, and was the mere creature of the Parliament in England. This Parliament sat at Kilkenny, and from the nature of its first statutes on record we get an accurate knowledge of its spirit and character, which were deadly to the peace and prosperity of the nation. These particular statutes were directed against the English, in order to keep alive the enmity between the two peoples. They provided the severest punishments for anyone who should use Irish names, language, or apparel, and made it high treason for the English to marry with the Irish. The punishment for this last offence was to *be half-hanged, shamefully mutilated*, and then

disembowelled alive ! These are the first statutes of the English-composed Irish Parliament, and were passed in 1310. Incredible as they may appear, they were, nevertheless, living realities, and were often acted upon.

Notwithstanding the severity of the laws against the English and the Irish, designed to keep up a perpetual feud between them, the natural course of events was stronger than all laws; and in course of time the English settlers came to make common cause with the Irish until English rule, in the reign of Henry VI., had almost died out in the country. There was still, however, a considerable amount of jealousy between the Norman Barons and the Septs; and, though the former had come to look upon Ireland as their native country, and were, to a great extent, Irishmen in feeling and sentiment, they lived in their fortified castles apart by themselves, and were, in reality, subject to no laws but those which they themselves chose to impose; while the internal government of the Septs was still under the old Irish or Brehon law.

Henry VII. determined to bring the whole country under the direct control of the British

Parliament, and in 1494 Sir Edward Poynings was sent over as Lord Deputy, with a large army at his back, and with full power to take the necessary steps for effecting the object in view. At this date Ireland had been in possession of an independent Parliament of its own for upwards of two hundred years ; and though, as a representative institution, it was a poor, sorry affair, it was, probably, no worse than the Parliament in England. There was no such thing in those days as representative government, as we understand it now ; and many generations had to pass away before the people of England obtained anything like a representative constitution. Before the passing of the first Reform Bill, in 1832, it would be a farce to say the people were represented in Parliament ; and, even now, since the admission of the agricultural labourers, the suffrage is withheld from many who are, by every right of justice, as much entitled to the vote as those who already enjoy it.

The Irish Parliament was, as I have said, the mere creature of the English Parliament, but it was still an independent Parliament in name ; and nominally subject to the control of no

power outside itself. The King of England was Lord of Ireland, and bore the same relation to the government of the latter, as he did to that of the former, country. The English Parliamentary system of to-day is the outcome of centuries of conflict between the ruling classes and the people; and if the Irish nation had been similarly free to work out its destiny, there can be little doubt that its Government would as thoroughly express the voice of the people to-day as ours does.

It is idle, however, to speculate upon what might have been. Henry and his ministers determined to introduce measures which were entirely subversive of Irish law and national independence; and while leaving the appearance of authority they effectually took away the substance. During the three centuries the English had been in Ireland there had been going on gradually a process of absorption and assimilation, and in a short time the distinction between the two would have died out. Henry's policy arrested this natural course, and introduced still further disturbing elements into the country. It forms an epoch in the connection between the two nations.

Sir Edward Poynings, on his arrival, summoned a Parliament to meet at Drogheda, and passed two measures, known as Poyning's Acts. By the first, Irish Law was superseded by English law, but this referred only to the Pale. By the second it was enacted that the Irish Parliament should have no power to pass any measure until it had been submitted to, and received the consent of, the Privy Council of England. This practically took away all power from the Irish Parliament, and there was no longer any reason for its continuance. It could neither make, abolish, nor alter any law, the most trivial, without the sanction of the King and his Council.

Henry VIII. assumed the title of King of Ireland, and added to the troubles occasioned by his predecessor those of religious persecution. Henry, as is well known, constituted himself the champion of Protestantism, and with him began that hatred and intolerance of the Roman Catholics which the Protestants have never ceased to exhibit from that day to this. Henry was desirous of introducing the Reformation into Ireland, and sent over one George Brown, whom he appointed Archbishop

of Dublin. Brown, with his army of proselytisers, committed the most wanton acts of aggression, and even went the length of stealing the valuables from the churches and burning the buildings to the ground. Every opportunity was taken to insult and revile the national religion ; and the most sacred things in the eyes of the Catholics were marks for the ribaldry and contempt of the conquerors.

Priests were the particular objects of their hatred, and nothing that the zeal of theological bigotry could devise was wanting with which to torment the lives of the unfortunate Catholic priests. The more the priests were reviled and persecuted the more the people clung to them, and the stronger grew their religious convictions and their hatred of their oppressors and their new religion. This, of course, is the natural result of all religious persecution since the world began.

In this sketch we can give only the barest outline of the principal events—can do little more, in fact, than mention them. The reign of Henry VIII. differed little from the preceding reigns. There were the usual rebellions, outrages, robberies, and judicial murders of the

noblest and best of the sons of Ireland. To love your country was a crime, which, if you possessed the courage of a man, eventually resulted in death. As a specimen of the faith the English usually kept with the Irish, we may mention an incident—one of a multitude—which happened in this reign. Lord Kildare, the Lord Deputy, was summoned to England and thrown into the Tower. His son, whom he left to govern in his absence, hearing that his father had been executed, raised the standard of rebellion; but being subdued by Lord Gray, the Commander-in-Chief, surrendered, on condition that he received a pardon for his offence. Lord Gray gave him the most solemn assurance that his life should be spared. He and his five uncles were sent to England, and Henry, refusing to recognize the promises of his deputy, had them all beheaded; though it was well known that several of the uncles were not only innocent of having taken any part in the rebellion, but had even set their faces against the proceeding of the nephew, and had been conspicuous in their endeavours to mitigate the excesses of the rebels. The rascalities of this royal brute in England are well known, and we need not

therefore be surprised to learn that he dispossessed the Church of its land, "broke down the monasteries, sold their roofs, plate, and bells, and burned their images, shrines, and relics."

Immediately on the death of Henry even more rigorous measures were resorted to, in this hunting ground of the English. Under the pretence that several of the Irish Chiefs were on the point of rebellion, the Government laid waste their settlements, captured and murdered most of the Chiefs, drove the people out, and confiscated their lands, nearly one million acres, which were given to English settlers. This occasioned a bloody feud for nine years, until at last the Irish had regained possession of their lands. But their triumph and enjoyment of their own were of short duration. A large army was sent into the district, and not a man, woman, or child of the Irish race within the district escaped the fury of the soldiers. Their instructions were to exterminate every family, root and branch; and they obeyed them to the letter. The English were reinstated, and Mary being now on the throne, these districts were named Queen's County and King's County, in honour of herself and husband. They were

typical of most of the possessions bearing royal designations—*the fruit of wholesale murder and robbery.*

Mary, being a Catholic, endeavoured in some measure to mitigate the injustice of the laws against Catholics which had so much embittered the Irish against the English crown, and helped to re-open wounds, which time was fast healing, between what we may now call the Anglo-Irish and the Catholic native Irish. For once, at least, in history, religious zeal was on the side of justice, but it was, unfortunately, of short duration.

Elizabeth, though in some respects an able ruler, inherited many of the brutal instincts of her father, Henry VIII., and in her treatment of the Catholics pursued a policy of undisguised military brigandage. Henry had endeavoured to soften the rigour of his proceedings by inviting several of the leading chiefs to his court, and inducing them to accept the English title of earl, many of whose descendants are now among the landed aristocracy of Ireland. But Elizabeth disdained to treat with the people otherwise than through the uncompromising persuasion of the sword; and in pur-

suance of this idea of governing Ireland, she distributed a large army through every part of the country. Mr. Froude, who is the most unfriendly and prejudiced historian that has ever written on Irish affairs, admits that these soldiers lived by plundering the people, and were no better than bandits.

In January, 1560, she summoned a Parliament, every member of which was obedient to her will. All the Catholic Acts passed by Mary were repealed, and a new law, called the Act of Uniformity, was placed upon the statute books. This Act was subversive of all that constituted the vital elements of the Catholic religion. The bishops within the Pale, with few exceptions, were true to their instincts: they changed their religion and kept their places. Not so, however, with the vast body of priests and the people: they bitterly resented such an unjustifiable and abominable persecution of the religion of their forefathers. The Catholics, forbidden to congregate in their churches, which were now by an Act of Parliament turned into Protestant places of worship, met out in the open fields or by the hill sides, and while they worshipped their God in thousands under the broad

canopy of heaven, the Protestant usurpers, of a dozen or so in a congregation, occupied the churches from which they had driven their fellow Christians, and prayed to a God whose chief attributes they say are love, justice, and righteousness !

About this time one of the Chiefs of Ulster, Shane O'Neil, came under the displeasure of the Queen, who tried to get him out of the way by secret assassination ; failing in this, however, her agents induced other tribes to rise against him, and, being ultimately caught, his head was struck off and sent to adorn the walls of Dublin Castle, *that sink of iniquity and rascality*. Shane O'Neil was one of those brave and fearless characters who, if there had been many more like him, would have made short work of English misrule in Ireland. He was styled King of Ulster. After his murder his possessions were confiscated, and given, as usual, to English settlers. But the lands belonged to the whole of the O'Neil tribe, and in order to get over the difficulty of disposing of these people, they were all—men, women, and children—either shot or put to the sword, wherever they could be got at.

Many enterprising agents of Elizabeth conceived various ways of exterminating the obnoxious Irish in the districts over which they held sway ; but the palm must certainly be given to Sir Francis Cosby, the Queen's representative in Offaly and Leix. This fiend in human shape conceived the idea of exterminating with one fell swoop the whole of the Chiefs and their kinsmen in his district, under circumstances so diabolical and atrocious that I doubt if it is to be surpassed by the most monstrous and bloodthirsty scoundrels the world has ever known. He invited in the most friendly way the whole of these people, to the number of four hundred, to a banquet in the fort of Mullaghmast, and there, in a moment of friendly intercourse, the soldiers, who had been stationed ready to act at a given signal, fell upon them sword in hand, and literally cut to pieces every living soul, except one man, Lalor, who, in the terrible tumult and carnage going on on all sides, made his escape. One hundred and eighty of the chief men belonging to the clan of O'Moore perished at this banquet. The terrible news ran through the country like wild-fire, maddening every soul to vengeance ; and

well indeed it might. Many an Englishman bit the dust with the last earthly sound of "Remember the Mullaghmast!" ringing in his ears. The reader does not require to be told that the miscreant Cosby was but the tool of the great masculine "virgin" and her Government in England. He would never have *dared* to commit such a deed without the sanction of the highest authority.

The tribes rose in all directions, discretion and fear were thrown to the winds, and men went mad with rage and grief. Even the Chiefs of the Pale joined the insurrection. A large army, under Pelham and Ormonde, was immediately despatched to Ireland, and so completely did they carry out the work of slaughter, that Munster, a fourth of Ireland, was laid waste; and we have it on the authority of Mr. Froude that "the lowing of a cow or the sound of a ploughboy's whistle was not to be heard from Valentia to the rock of Cashel." Throughout the length and breadth of this large and fertile province no human being or domestic animal was to be met with outside the towns; scarcely a habitation was left standing; all was desolate and silent as the grave to which the inhabitants had been consigned.

The wanton destruction of food produced a famine in the towns and cities, and the terrible sight of people devouring the rotting tenants of the graveyard was often witnessed. Spenser, the English poet, was an eye-witness of the scenes, and has left us an awful account of the misery and suffering of the people. Raleigh, who had charge of a part of the army, was guilty of an act of cold-blooded cruelty. Smerwick contained a fort, in which a number of Irish had taken refuge. They surrendered at discretion, and were all killed by Raleigh and his men in cold blood.

Other parts of Ireland besides Munster were devastated at this time. The Pale shared almost the same fate. Martial law was declared in Dublin, and people in hundreds were hanged without any form or pretence of trial. The land of Munster having been cleared of its inhabitants and rightful owners, was settled upon English adventurers, who held it of the Crown by payment of a quit rent of so much a year. Many other estates in other parts of Ireland belonging to great Chiefs were seized by the Crown and given to Englishmen. The Irish did not, it may be surmised, submit quietly to

such treatment, and much of the land thus taken by force was reclaimed by a similar power, and the English settlers driven off. A nation subject to such treatment could not, of course, make any progress or know any peace. Everything was insecure; no man could call his life his own, much less his property; and truly may it be said of Ireland, as Gibbon said of the Roman Empire, "The shades of night had settled over the world."

From the time of Henry II. to the reign of Elizabeth England had made tremendous progress intellectually and materially, while Ireland, from being a happy, contented, prosperous, progressive nation, had become barren, desolate, and impoverished—the home of misery, starvation, and despair.

At the death of Elizabeth Ireland was in a more chaotic and distracted state than ever. Her successor, James I., followed in the footsteps of his predecessors; and soon the most formidable rebellion the English had had to encounter was headed by the famous Chiefs Tyrone and Tyrconnell, who had been made earls in a previous reign. From all parts of the country the Irish flocked to their standard, and

such was their success that within a short time all Ireland, with the exception of Dublin and a few garrison towns, was in their hands. This insurrection broke out just before the death of the Queen, and helped in great measure to hasten her end. She was greatly incensed at the conduct of her favourite lover Essex, who was sent to suppress the rising; and in a fit of rage had him executed. She is said to have repented, and died of remorse. Essex was recalled, and the largest army ever sent to Ireland was despatched, under the command of Lord Mountjoy. The insurrection was soon put down, and the horrors the Irish had to endure no tongue can speak, no pen can write.

Moryson, Mountjoy's secretary, says, referring to this period, "The carcasses of people lay in ditches, their dead mouths open, green with the docks and nettles on which they had endeavoured to support life. Young children were trapped and eaten by the starving women who were hiding in the woods on the Newry. He and Sir Arthur Chichester witnessed the horrible spectacle of three young children devouring the entrails of their dead mother." Hume says, writing of this period: "The small

army which the English maintained in Ireland they never supplied regularly with pay, and as no money could be levied from the island, which possessed none, they gave the soldiers the privilege of free quarters on the natives. Rapine and insolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered, and want of security among the Irish introduced despair. For the English carried further their ill-judged tyranny. . . . They even refused, though earnestly solicited, to communicate to them the privileges of their laws, and everywhere marked them out as aliens and enemies."

Spenser, who held military command in Ireland, says: "Notwithstanding the province of Munster was a most plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, yet, ere one year and a half, they were brought to such wretchedness as that any heart would rue the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, as if their legs could not bear them. They looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrion, happy when they could find them—yea, and

one another soon after, insomuch that the very carcases they spared not to scrape out of their graves ; and if they found a plot of watercress and shamrock there they flocked as to a feast for a time (yet not able to continue there withal) that in a short space there was none almost left ; and a most populous and plenteous country was suddenly left void of man and every living creature."

The powerful family of the Desmonds was completely extirpated, and their lands, 574,000 acres, confiscated, and, as usual, the greater part divided amongst English settlers, with the condition annexed, that none of Irish blood should be allowed on any part of the property.

By this brief mention of some of the leading facts of Irish history, during the 300 years preceding the reign of Elizabeth, we see that the natural conditions necessary for the normal development of a people, politically, socially, economically, had been persistently harassed and destroyed by the ignorant and brutal conduct of the various English rulers and their governments. As we go on we shall find that the same policy of imbecility and injustice has been pursued down to the present day. And if

it be true, as Buckle and other philosophical historians maintain, that the condition of a people at any given time is the outcome of preceding conditions, extending over several generations, it would be against the laws of nature to expect in Ireland, or in any other country similarly treated, a state of affairs different to what we find there at the present moment. "As we sow so shall we reap," and if we "sow the wind we must reap the whirlwind." National injustice will inevitably produce tumult and disorder, and all the fearful consequences arising therefrom.

If we are disposed to look upon that period as a barbarous time, let us bear in mind that it was the age of Shakespeare and Bacon, and many of the brightest names in philosophy, science, and literature. It was pre-eminently a time in the life of England when justice and humanity should have guided her councils in the treatment of a subject race. But justice and humanity have never been the characteristics of English governments, even down to the present day, when imaginary "British interests" have been concerned.

Tyrone and Tyrconnel fled from Ireland, and

James proceeded in the usual course to confiscate the land right and left. Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Cavan, Armagh, and part of Ulster were seized, amounting to 2,838,972 acres, and disposed of to Englishmen and English companies at merely nominal prices. Many of the City of London companies went in for the loot; among them were the Mercers, Salters, Skinners, Ironmongers, and Drapers. The estates in Ireland now held by these demoralized and demoralizing companies were stolen from the Irish people. The rich banquets at which these companies and their friends sit and guzzle and feast from one year's end to another are supplied from rack rents which are collected from a starving people at the point of the bayonet.

Ulster became a colony of Protestants and anti-Irish, and the most bitter and implacable foes to the people whom they had robbed of all they possessed. From that day to this Ulster has never been in reality a part of Ireland. The people of that province, planted originally by an alien race, have preserved through half-a-dozen generations the spirit and hatred with which their forefathers settled on the lands of

the vanquished. The blood of their robber-ancestors still courses through their veins. Rich with the spoils of the plundered native Irish they have been enabled to push their poisonous fangs in all directions through the country ; and, in conjunction with the landlords and their parasites, cry aloud for a continuance of that unjust and abominable misrule by which they have so much benefited.

James, like most other mortals, died with part of his schemes unfulfilled, one of which was the planting of Connaught with English and Scotch, as he had planted other parts. Charles, however, inherited the idea ; but with more respect for "law and order" than his father had manifested, he appointed a number of obedient lawyers to investigate and discover "flaws" in the title-deeds of the owners of the land of Connaught. Needless to say, the title deeds were full of "flaws," and Charles, in consequence, soon found himself master of the whole of the province.

His fertile intellect now conceived a scheme for squeezing some money out of his Irish subjects, of which he always stood so much in need. The fertility of Royal intellects is rarely

shown except for the purpose of enriching their possessors at the expense of the people. Charles was not so fortunate as most of his Royal brethren; *he* paid the penalty of his rascality with his head. The disabilities under which the Catholics lived were an intolerable burthen, and no sacrifice would have been deemed by them too great for the recovery of their civil and religious liberty. The king offered to grant them this on payment of a certain sum of money. On the faith of his *Royal* word the money was paid, but the relief was never granted. In plain terms, it was nothing but a deliberate swindle from beginning to end.

We now come to what is called the Great Rebellion of 1641. This, like all other rebellions, was the result of many years of oppression.

We cannot, of course, in this brief narrative enter into the details of the rebellion. Most English historians have treated it in a very one-sided way. The Irish fought with the courage of desperation and despair, and many were killed on both sides. The carnage, no doubt, was dreadful; but on whose heads rested the blood that was shed? Surely on those of the English. The soil of Ireland might be drenched

with the blood of the Irish and provoke no generous or indignant comment from English writers ; but when the same measure was meted out to the English by those whom they had so long oppressed, the matter assumed a very different aspect, and the language of vituperation has been loud against the Irish.

To meet the expenses of this rebellion the Long Parliament confiscated 2,500,000 acres. An army of jingo adventurers was raised in England, and paid for by grants from the confiscated land. They quarrelled, as a matter of course, over the division of the spoil, and ultimately agreed to settle the matter by drawing lots. This lottery was held in Grocers' Hall, London, July, 1653. The portions of land thus bestowed upon soldiers and volunteer jingoes were situated in Ulster, Leinster, and Munster. Connaught was reserved as a kind of penal settlement for the remnants of the Irish people. They were not allowed to appear within two miles of the river Shannon, or four miles of the sea, without a passport. Any Irish person—man, woman, or child—found within the forbidden district was immediately hanged or shot, according as the materials for the one death or

the other were nearest to hand. Irish noble-men were compelled to wear a distinctive mark upon their dress, and the people a black spot on their cheeks, so that they might be known and shunned. It was death without trial to appear without these badges.

It was not an easy matter to coop up the whole of a nation in one small part of its territory; and, as it was found impossible to hang or shoot the whole of those found outside of Connaught, many thousands were shipped to the West Indies and sold as slaves. Sir William Petty states that 6,000 little boys and girls were torn from their parents and disposed of in this way. Over 1,000 girls who had arrived at the age of fourteen were sent to the newly-acquired colony of Jamaica, and distributed among the soldiers or sold to the planters. 2,000 boys, between twelve and fourteen years of age, were caught and sold in a similar way. Altogether the total number sent to the West Indies and Virginia was over 10,000.

We are now in the period of Cromwell—the most sanguinary, perhaps, in the whole history of Ireland. As soon as he had disposed of King Charles he hastened to Ireland, and in

the name of Jesus, slew every human being of the Irish race on whom he could lay hands. Cromwell was called Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It was under the Cromwellian rule the above-mentioned boys and girls were sold into slavery. Many fearful deeds have been done in the name of Jesus, but we doubt if many can compare with Cromwell's in Ireland. As soon as he arrived at Dublin he marched on to Drogheda, with an army of 9,000 foot and 4,000 horse, and having obtained the submission of the garrison by the most solemn promises to spare their lives, slew every living soul, including 3,000 inhabitants, *in the name of Jesus*. Wherever he went he carried with him waggon loads of bibles, and as he marched on from one field of slaughter to another he distributed them in great numbers, and refreshed and strengthened his soul for the work he had in hand by repeated perusals of the holy book.

Having butchered the inhabitants of Drogheda he pushed on to Wexford, and treated it in like manner, slaying 2,000 inhabitants. Meanwhile Cromwell's Generals were imitating his example in other parts of Ireland, and so thorough had been their campaign of slaughter

that in a short time the pious army had completed its work, and the silence of despair settled over the land.

Mr. C. P. Deane, in his "Short History of Ireland," writing of this period, says:—"No vestige of the Catholic religion was allowed to exist; Catholic lawyers and schoolmasters were silenced, and all ecclesiastics were slain like the priests of Baal. Three bishops and three hundred clergy thus perished. It is even said that the hunting to death of the priests became an exciting species of chase. In county Clare and parts of Connaught the people were driven like cattle, and if in any mountainous recesses or caves a few peasants were detected at mass they were smoked out and shot. A proclamation was issued that, after the 1st March, 1654, all Irish Catholics—men, women, or children—who should be found in the kingdom, might be killed by any person who should meet them, without charge or trial."

It is computed that foreign states obtained from Ireland, between 1651 and 1654, 44,000 recruits for their armies.

The following passage from the writings of Professor Goldwin Smith fairly describes Ireland

at the time of the death of Cromwell :—" The peace of complete submission reigned in Ireland. Law was regularly administered, and the Protestant community at least presented a picture of prosperity. But it is difficult to believe that the lot of the Irish Catholics can have been otherwise than hard under the domination of those fanatical children of the old covenant, who were dwelling in vineyards which they had not planted, and houses which they had not built ; who ranked the religion of the subdued race with idolatry, and who must have constantly read in the expressive faces of the people intense hatred mingled with cowering fear. To make Ireland like Yorkshire is said to have been the Protector's object ; and this, as far as the nature of things permitted, his genius as a rule achieved ; but the nature of things rendered it impossible for him to do more than create a Yorkshire on the surface, while an Ireland still lay alien and vindictive below."

The English Government now entered upon a course of exceptional legislation for Ireland, from which many of the troubles of the present day date their origin, and to which is due, far

more than to all other causes combined, the impoverished condition of Ireland. The Earl of Strafford was at this time the Lord Deputy, and acting under instruction from England, he and his Council at Dublin Castle imposed upon the Irish Parliament certain measures, the object of which was to destroy the woollen trade. The Irish Parliament never had any authority but to do as it was told, and the woollen trade, which was one of the most valuable of the Irish industries, was completely and irrecoverably destroyed, because it interfered with that of England.

Were it not an unquestionable fact of history we should hesitate to believe that any English Government, or its trusted officials, could be guilty of the monstrous folly and wickedness of deliberately destroying a thriving industry of a poor and struggling people, because it interfered in some slight measure with the interest of English wool growers. But, incredible as this may seem, to destroy Irish industries became the settled policy of England, as we shall see as we proceed. This policy was dictated by selfishness, and that blind ignorance of economic questions by which most of the men

composing our Governments, even down to the present day, have been characterized.

Nothing will so effectually and permanently impoverish a nation as laws which cripple trade and commerce. The author of "*History of Commercial Restraints*," which was burnt by the common hangman, says "A country will sooner recover from the miseries and devastations occasioned by war, invasion, rebellion, and massacre, than from laws restraining the commerce, discouraging the manufactures, fettering the industry, and above all, breaking the spirits of the people."

An Act was passed in 1663 prohibiting the exportation of anything from Ireland to the colonies, thus shutting out the colonies from Irish industry of every description. A similar Act was also passed declaring the importation of Irish cattle into England to be a "Publick and common nuisance." Another statute forbade the importation from Ireland of beef, pork, bacon, butter, and cheese. In 1670 an Act was passed forbidding the Irish to receive from the English colonies sugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, fustic, or other dyeing wood. Restrictive laws were also enacted des-

stroying trade in glass, silk, hops, Irish beer, malt, and many other articles of Irish industry. These Acts had the effect of destroying the shipping trade, and, as a matter of course, all other trades and industries connected with it.

It is difficult to write with calmness and propriety of such shameful and barefaced villainy as is exhibited in the addresses of the British Lords and Commons to the King, praying that Irish trades and industries one by one might be suppressed. The penalties for infringing any of these infamous laws were very severe, and to ensure conviction in all cases, the offenders, if they escaped in an Irish Court, could be seized and brought to England, and re-tried in an English court of law. Anyone found exporting either the raw material or manufactured woollen stuffs forfeited both goods and ship, and a money payment of £500.

Dean Swift wrote, in 1720, "Whoever travels in this country, and observes the face of nature, and the faces and habits and dwellings of the natives, will hardly think himself in a land where law, religion, or common humanity is professed." To such a condition had English rule reduced the whole country. I cannot give

many quotations, but the writings and speeches of most of the great men in every age, during the last three hundred years, abound in the most emphatic and scathing condemnation of England's conduct to Ireland.

Mr. Hely Hutchinson, who was a Principal Secretary of State, summarising the effects of restrictive legislation from 1699 to 1779, writes, "Can the history of any fruitful country on the globe, enjoying peace for four score years, and not visited by plague or pestilence, produce so many recorded instances of the poverty and wretchedness, and of the reiterated want and misery of the lower orders of the people? There is no such example in ancient or modern story."

The State haviug, by the most deliberate and express laws, ruined the industries and commerce of the country, and brought the people to a condition in which no strength or spirit was left for resistance, now turned its attention to another series of laws, the object of which was to ruin agriculture, as the industries had been ruined. The only means of subsistence now left to the Irish people was the cultivation of the land, which was so fertile and rich that it

was capable of yielding abundance for four or five times the number of inhabitants. In the spirit of resignation and despair they turned to their land, in the hope of obtaining, at least, a bare livelihood. But here they were pursued with the same relentless persecution that had never ceased to oppress them; and with the real object of utterly ruining the nation, so that the people might be in such a state of weakness and poverty as to prevent all further troubles to their rulers, they were expressly forbidden to plough or break the soil!

Mr. Froude says, referring to these laws:—
“The soil needed only to be drained, cleared of weeds, and manured to produce grass crops and corn crops as rich as the best in England. Here was employment for a population three times more numerous than as yet existed. Here was a prospect, if not of commercial wealth, yet of substantial comfort and material abundance. . . . The tenants were forbidden in their leases to break or plough the soil. The people no longer employed were driven away into holes and corners, and eked out a wretched subsistence by potato gardens, or by keeping starving cattle of their own on the neglected

bogs. . . . The English deliberately determined to keep Ireland poor and miserable, *as the readiest means to prevent it being troublesome.*"

Mr. J. R. Green, in his "Short History of the English People," writing of Ireland under the Georges, says :—"England did her best to annihilate Irish commerce and to ruin Irish agriculture. Statutes by the jealousy of English landowners forbade the export of Irish cattle or sheep to English ports. The export of wool was forbidden, lest it might interfere with the profits of the English woolgrowers. Poverty was thus added to the curse of misgovernment, and the poverty, deepened by the rapid growth of the native population, *turned the country into a hell.*"

One would think that the measure of England's iniquities was full with such a record, but, bad as it is, there is still worse to come. We have yet to record the passing of laws for Ireland which stand absolutely alone in their depth of infamy and diabolical ingenuity. The men who framed the laws of the Papists' or Penal Code, together with those who sanctioned them in Parliament, were, I will venture to say,

the most heartless scoundrels that ever had the power of oppressing their fellow man. And their mantle has fallen upon some of their descendants, who are active among us to-day.

William of Orange was on the throne of England when the first laws of the Penal Code were passed. They were worthy of the authors of the Massacre of Glencoe. How far William was morally responsible for either I am not here concerned. It is not my business to adjust the blame between him and his ministers. Suffice it that at this period were passed laws against the Catholics which are absolutely unparalleled in their atrocious villainy by the laws of any civilized nation of ancient or modern times. No Englishman of the present day, except perhaps a rabid Tory, can think of them without feelings of horror and shame.

The following are some of the provisions of these ferocious laws. I ask the reader to pause after reading them, and think of the unspeakable misery and degradation they must have brought to the people subject to them. "Under these laws Catholics could not sit in the Irish Parliament, or vote members to it. They were excluded from the army and navy,

the corporation, the magistracy, the bar, the bench, the grand juries, and the vestries. They could not be sheriffs or soldiers, game-keepers or constables. They were forbidden to own any arms, and any two justices or sheriffs might at any time issue a search warrant for arms. The discovery of any kind of weapon rendered its Catholic owner liable to fines, imprisonment, whipping, or the pillory. They could not own a horse worth more than five pounds, and any Protestant tendering that sum could compel his Catholic neighbour to sell his steed. No education whatever was allowed to Catholics. A Catholic could not go to the University ; he might not be the guardian of a child ; he might not keep a school, or send his children to be educated abroad, or teach himself. No Catholic might buy land, or inherit or receive it as a gift, from Protestants, or hold life annuities or leases for more than thirty-one years, or any lease on such terms as that the profits of the land exceeded one-third the value of the land. If a Catholic purchased an estate, the first Protestant who informed against him became his proprietor. The eldest son of a Catholic, upon apostatizing, became

heir-at-law to the whole estate of his father, and reduced his father to the position of a mere life tenant. A wife who apostatized was immediately freed from her husband's control, assigned a certain share of her husband's property. Any child, however young, who professed to be a Protestant was at once taken from his father's care, and a certain proportion of his father's property assigned to him."

"I must do it justice," said Burke; "it was a complete system, full of coherence and consistency, well digested and well composed in all its parts. It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."

It has been well said—"The memory of this code will remain a reproach to human nature, and a terrible monument of the vileness into which nations may be led when their religion has been turned into hatred, and they have been taught to believe that the indulgence of the most malignant passions of man is an acceptable offering to God, for it was a code of

degradation and proscription—religious, political, and social.”

Ireland, as we have seen, had regularly possessed a Parliament ; but it never had any real power, and was rarely called upon to go through the farce of sitting oftener than once in two years, and then its only work was to vote supplies for the next two years. But even of this poor make-believe of a Parliament England was jealous, and in the time of George I. an Act was passed, which declared that the English Parliament had full power and authority to make laws and statutes to bind the Kingdom of Ireland. Let it be borne in mind that Ireland never had a Parliament, in the true sense of the word, until the time of Grattan's Parliament. It never represented the people, and if it had it would have been useless, since it possessed no legislative authority. The Lord-Lieutenant and his officials at Dublin Castle were the real rulers of Ireland, and they were at all times the creatures of the English Government, and alien to the Irish people. The Lord-Lieutenant was appointed for two years, but he rarely stayed in Ireland longer than a few months.

For three generations following the introduction of the Penal Code there is little to record of the Irish nation. The spirit had been completely crushed out of its people, and all thought of social liberty or political freedom had died out. The long contest had broken their heart, and for many a long year they ceased to struggle. Within a century the whole of the land of Ireland had been confiscated, and large portions of it twice or thrice over within the same space of time. The various acts passed relating to Irish industries had ruined the commerce of the nation, and made the people entirely dependent upon agriculture for their subsistence. Agriculture, again, being subjected to similarly ruinous laws, had reduced the people to a condition bordering upon starvation. There being no field for the employment of capital, nearly the whole of the capital left the country; and the only means of livelihood left to the great body of the people was by the cultivation of small plots of land, on which they grew potatoes. The competition for these small plots of land was so great, says Mr. J. S. Mill, in his "Political Economy," that sometimes the tenants agreed to pay rents which were nine

times in excess of their actual value. And this the landlords call "freedom of contract!" If a man could not obtain a small plot of land on which to grow his potatoes, he and his wife and children must have starved, for there was no employment for him or other means whereby he could earn a living. Under such a state of things, to obtain a plot of land, however small, was the primary condition of their life; the amount of rent was quite a secondary matter, for the poor creatures hoped to secure a portion of the crop of potatoes before the rest was seized by their landlords for rent. In this way they were always at the mercy of the landlords, and, as a matter of course, continually in arrears.

This condition, with some slight modifications, exists to the present day. It is quite in accordance, then, with the fitness of things that the nation should suffer from scarcity, and at times be subject to famine more or less severe. Indeed, for a long period famine was almost a chronic condition of the poorer classes. But in 1741 a terrible famine ravaged the whole country, bringing disease and death in its train to all classes of the community. The poor died

in thousands by the wayside and in the fields. Many fled to America and elsewhere from their tyranny-oppressed and famine-stricken country ; and bitter were the memories they transmitted to their children, from whom the still struggling Irish nation now receive the warmest sympathy and material support. Over 400,000 lives perished during this famine.

The suppression of all constitutional forms of agitation, the forbidding of all political meetings, led to the formation of secret societies,—the White-boys, the Oak-boys, and Hearts of Steel; and between these and the military a constant warfare was kept up. Lord Chesterfield, who was viceroy in 1745, and was by far the most just and honourable man who had filled that office, declared that “if the military force had killed half as many landlords as it had White-boys, it would have contributed more effectually to restore quiet; for the poor people in Ireland,” said Lord Chesterfield, “are worse used than negroes by their masters.” Lord Chesterfield, during the short period he held office, pursued a just and humane policy, as far as he was able; but the task of doing justice to Ireland was beyond the powers of any one man; and as

soon as his viceroyalty ceased his beneficent policy came to an end.

The year 1745 witnessed the death of Dean Swift, "the only representative of the nation," to use Mr. Deane's language, "who kept his lamp of patriotism burning through the hours of its deepest darkness." Swift was a man of remarkable genius; as a writer he has rarely been surpassed, and Ireland owes much to the scathing sarcasm with which he assailed and exposed the herd of petty tyrants who sucked the blood of his fellow countrymen.

About this time was established an unjust and oppressive tax, bad enough in itself, but rendered infinitely worse by the opportunities it gave to the landlords to rob and oppress the poor. Every householder had to give six days' labour in the year for the repairs of the roads. The landlords extended this unpaid labour to their own estates, and compelled the people, under pains and penalties, to work for them without any kind of payment whatever. They were indeed, and are to this day, leeches of the most insatiable and voracious character. To use Shelley's expressive metaphor, "They drain the sweat and drink the blood of the

people," and hound on whatever Government is in power to use the military and police to enforce their rascally claims.

We are now approaching Grattan's Parliament, which was the first and only Parliament that possessed any freedom, or in any way represented the people. It is difficult to understand how a Parliament could have existed for so many years without possessing even so much as the shadow of authority. The Irish House of Lords had no appellate jurisdiction, nor had the House of Commons any authority to legislate for the country. No bill could be passed into law. The "heads of a bill" might be brought in, and if agreed to by both houses, sent on to the Viceroy, who gave it to his Privy Council to alter if they chose, and send it on to England, or throw it into the waste-paper basket. If, however, it reached England, the Attorney-General could modify or alter it as he liked, even to the entire remodelling and negating all its clauses; then, if approved by the English Council, it was sent back to Ireland, where the Parliament could either reject or accept it *in toto*, but had no power to alter it. The majority of the members were either the

placemen of the English Government or the nominees of protestant landlords.

It is, therefore, absurd and unjust to use as an argument against Home Rule the contention that Ireland for many generations was governed by its own Parliament, as many Englishmen do. It *never was* governed by its own Parliament. It never even possessed a Parliament of its own, for the so-called Irish Parliament was, as I have shown, a mere sham, without authority or even influence with its masters, the Viceroy, his Council, and the English Government. No country in this world could possibly have had such a history if it had been governed by its own people.

In 1775 Henry Grattan entered Parliament on the nomination of Lord Charlemont. He was a true patriot, fearless and honest, and one of the most eloquent men that ever pleaded a great cause. Conscious of his transcendent abilities and almost unbounded powers of persuasion, he set himself a task, the partial accomplishment of which has rendered his name eternally famous in the annals of his country. For a time he was ably seconded by Henry Flood, and Charles Lucas, the founder of the

well-known *Freeman's Journal*, a paper whose long life has been devoted to the interests of Ireland, and has proved itself well worthy of its patriotic and noble origin. These three men possessed, in an eminent degree, the qualifications and abilities necessary for the great work of regenerating their country, and creating for it a free and independent Parliament. Lucas, through the medium of the *Freeman's Journal*, infused new life and spirit into the Irish people, and denounced, in glowing and fearless language, the conduct of the English Government and that of its creatures and tools at Dublin Castle and in the Irish Parliament; while within the walls of Parliament, Grattan, Flood, and Lucas became a power, before whose unsparing denunciation the weak and petty creatures were gradually silenced and cowed; and for the first time in Irish history an able, independent, powerful, and patriotic party grew up in the Parliament of Ireland.

Flood and Lord Charlemont were the leaders of a force of 60,000 volunteers, which had been raised for the purpose of repelling the depredations of Paul Jones and other privateers. Between Flood and Grattan a misunderstanding

arose as to the advisability of disbanding the Volunteers after the purpose for which they had been raised was accomplished. Grattan was for disbanding them, relying for the redress of the wrongs of his country on a patriotic and independent Parliament; while Flood could not conceal from himself the great advantage the Irish nation would possess in dealing with England with a force of 60,000 armed men at its back. Grattan's hopes rose high as one by one the best spirits that composed the Parliament rallied to his side, until the patriotic party—the Opposition, as it was called—became a great power, not only in Parliament, but throughout the country. And that indomitable spirit, which might be suppressed but could not be killed, which had come down from murdered father to murdered son through so many generations, was again re-imbued with high aspirations and hopes of liberty.

Grattan was now the leader of the Opposition in the House, and there can be no doubt that the armed power of Ireland was a strong argument with the English Government in the consideration of the measures which were now pressed upon it by the Patriotic Party. The

Volunteers were on the side of Grattan and his followers, and it was no secret that they had formed the resolution of advocating at the point of the bayonet the concessions which were now demanded. England knew this full well, and being at the time at war with her American Colonies, was in no position to resist the just and reasonable demands now put forward. Englishmen are perhaps better acquainted with the history of the transactions which led to the loss of the American Colonies, than they are with those occurring in Ireland at that time. They both contain lessons which are well worth studying, and which the English nation would do well to take seriously to heart at the present time. In the one case justice was obtained by force, in the other through fear. Grattan was not ignorant of the power he derived from the Irish Army, and he probably bitterly repented its destruction, brought about by himself, long before the memorable occasion, when, gaunt and pale, he was carried into the House to raise his feeble voice against the act by which the Parliament of Ireland was wiped out of existence.

Some time previously steps had been taken for the repeal of the Papists' or Penal Code.

Another step was now taken, by passing an Act which enabled Catholics to acquire leaseholds for 999 years, and to alienate and deal with them by will. An Act passed in Queen Anne's reign, which enabled a child turning Protestant to obtain his father's property, was repealed. Some restrictions on trade were removed at this time.

The Irish Parliament passed two resolutions, one of which was that liberty to export its woollen and other manufactures would be beneficial to the country; the other that liberty to trade with the American Colonies and the West Indies would be productive of great commercial benefits to Ireland. These resolutions were passed on to the English Parliament, and measures at once introduced there to give them effect. Nothing short of a great revolution had begun in the industrial and commercial condition of Ireland by giving effect to the above resolutions.

Grattan now brought forward three other resolutions of the most important character, the effect of which was in reality to make Ireland an independent nation.

I. That the King, Lords, and Commons of

Ireland are the only powers competent to enact laws to bind Ireland.

2. That the crown of Ireland is and ought to be inseparably annexed to the Crown of Great Britain.

3. That Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably united under one sovereign, under common and indissoluble ties of interest, loyalty, and freedom.

The Commons refused to pass these resolutions, and the Volunteers and others held great meetings, and with the acclamation of the country, denounced their so-called representatives in Parliament. For the moment the patriotic party was defeated, but a short time subsequently Grattan again brought forward the resolutions in the form of an address to the King, praying for the repeal of the Act of the 6th Geo. I, entitled "An Act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain." This was carried, and the Irish House of Commons voted Grattan a grant of £50,000. The necessary Acts were speedily passed through both Houses in England, and Ireland was once more a free and independent nation.

In 1781 Ireland, for the first time, got a Habeas Corpus Act. In this year, too, the Bank of Ireland was established. Some progress was also made in relaxing the laws against the Roman Catholics. They were now permitted to hold freehold property, and the laws which deprived them of the power of guardianship over their children were repealed; they were also allowed to have them educated as they wished. Viewed in the light of our present comparative political freedom these appear but small instalments of their rights; but they were great concessions to the Catholics of those days.

The creation of an independent Irish Parliament was followed by the election of a new House of Commons. It consisted of 300 members, of whom 73 were freely elected, and the remainder were nominated by peers and commoners. We should have little faith in such a House of Commons in England; and, as a representative assembly, it was little better than a sham. But it was an independent Parliament, with power to make and unmake laws, and could not but be animated with some desire to legislate for the benefit of the nation.

The repeal of some of the most obnoxious Acts forbidding the importation of Irish manufactures into England had been followed by the establishment of duties, so heavy as to practically exclude Irish goods from the English markets. In order to remedy this great injustice to Irish commerce, William Pitt submitted to the English House of Commons the following propositions :—

1. It was desirable to encourage trade and regulate commerce.
2. Goods imported to either country were to be granted full drawback on export to the other.
3. Neither country should prohibit the export of any product of the other.
4. The rates on each other's product were to be reduced to an equality.
5. As to any goods of home production which might be charged with internal duties, similar goods on being imported might be charged with an amount equal to such internal duty in addition to the import duty.
6. No new import duties to be imposed by either country on the other's products.

7. The like provision as to export duties, except as to corn, meal, flour, and biscuits. All duties not then reciprocal to be made so.
8. Neither country to pay bounties on exported articles.
9. Import duties to be laid on products of foreign states, so as to protect home products of each.

These were introduced into the Irish Parliament in 1785, and passed unanimously. But such was the outcry from all the great towns in England against these reasonable and just proposals, that Pitt had to re-cast them in such a manner that they were no longer acceptable to the Irish Parliament, and they fell through. Let Englishmen think of this as an illustration of their sense of justice a hundred years ago.

The Irish Parliament, being composed of Protestants and the nominees of peers and the wealthy upper classes, was hand and glove with the Castle officials, and amenable to instructions from that source. The Lord Lieutenant was directed to use his influence to prevent the passing of laws of which the British Government disapproved; and thus the Irish Parlia-

ment, though nominally free, was, in reality, bound hand and foot, and as impotent for all purposes for which a legislature exists, as it was before the repeal of the Act, by which it became independent. So far as the interests of the nation were concerned, the Parliament was as much the creature of Dublin Castle as it had ever been. Notwithstanding this, the mere fact of the great nominal change which had been effected sent a thrill of gladness through the length and breadth of Ireland, and the people believed that a better day had dawned for their country.

There is much diversity of opinion amongst historians as to the condition of the country during the existence of the nominally independent Parliament,—*i.e.*, eighteen years preceding the Act of Union in 1800; but the balance of favour must be given to this period. There can be no doubt that this was the happiest time in the life of Ireland since the conquest of Henry II. And although there was a failure of the crops, and great agricultural depression in consequence, in 1784, Sir Jonah Barrington, in his "Historical Memoirs," writes, "In this year the country was rapidly

advancing to eminence. Commerce was improving; the public debt light; the taxes inconsiderable; emigration had ceased; and population was augmenting. Nearly 200 nobles and all the Commoners expended their rents amidst those who paid them." This, no doubt, is too favourable a view to take; but it is indicative of the new life and hope that had been infused into the people.

The Roman Catholics, from their numerical strength, were a great power in the country; and it was impossible for Parliament to go on continually ignoring all their just claims. In 1792 a Bill was introduced and passed. (1.) To allow all Roman Catholics the practice and profession of the law. (2.) To allow them entire and unrestrained power of educating their children, without the necessity of such a licence as had been provided for in the Act of 1782. (3.) To allow intermarriage between Protestants and Roman Catholics. (4.) To remove the restrictions on the number of apprentices that a Roman Catholic might have in his trade. It was also proposed to give the Parliamentary Franchise to Catholics, to the extent of enabling them to vote for Protestant

members; but this was thought too great a favour, and was accordingly rejected.

Protestants have incessantly heaped calumnies upon the Catholics; and have attributed to them, as a body, the grossest ignorance and stupidity. The following memorandum of their political faith, issued in 1792, gives us a truer knowledge of their intelligence and advanced political thought than all the one-sided histories that have been published. In every respect it is a most remarkable document, the wisdom of which has either been practically realized or is to-day a part of the Liberal programme:—

The Catholics proposed that the Parliament should be annual; that for the purpose of election the whole kingdom should be divided into three hundred electorates, each formed by a combination of parishes, and all as nearly equal as possible in point of population; that no qualification with respect to property should be required in the electors nor in the representatives; that every male of sound understanding, of the full age of twenty-one years, and residing in the electorate during the last six months preceding the election, should be capable of suffrage for a representative; that to be quali-

fied for a seat in the House of Commons, a man should be twenty-five years old, resident within the kingdom, and holding neither place nor pension under Government, and that such representative should receive a reasonable stipend for his attendance in Parliament. Men whose political wisdom and foresight could produce such a document in 1792 were held by the Protestants to be too stupid to be entrusted with the franchise !

In 1785 a society called the "Peep o' Day Boys" was formed amongst the Protestants, whose object was to harass and persecute the Catholics. They entered their homes at all hours, night and day ; ransacked their houses ; burnt their furniture ; destroyed their churches ; and insulted and outraged their women. In consequence of the brutal conduct of the Protestants, their clergy found it difficult to collect their tithes ; and for half a century and more the tithes of the Protestant clergy were wrung from an impoverished Roman Catholic people by the bayonets of the British army. Truly a noble occupation for British soldiers ! Every thousand pounds taken from the starving Catholics as tithes for Protestant clergymen has

cost the British taxpayer several thousands for the support of the soldiers and policemen by whom the tax had to be collected. And if we add to this the cost of maintaining the army and police for turning poor starving families out of their miserable, wretched homes, the cost to the people of England has been enormous. I say miserable, wretched homes, for, judged by any standard of civilized comfort, they are poor and miserable; but they are as dear to those poor people who have grown up in them from generation to generation as is the lordly home of the aristocrat to him and his family.

It was the custom of the landlord or his agent to pounce down upon the tenant just as his potatoes were ready for digging, and seize a great part of them for rent; while the vigilant and wary clergyman held an equal legal authority to a share of the poor miserable plot of potatoes opposite the lowly mud cabin of poor Pat and his little ones. And between these two voracious sharks very frequently little was left for the family, though it was the produce of their labour and their only means of subsistence. It was literally their only food. Think of it, working men of England; was it not a noble

and Christian sight? Picture to yourselves a small plot of land reclaimed, perhaps, from the bog, or, it may be, a barren tract rendered fertile by long labour and perseverance in covering it with earth brought from a distance ; the little mud cabin at one end sheltering the family, whose daily care is to tend the precious garden, and watch the growth of that which is their only hope of food through the long winter ; the anxiety of the father and mother at rest as the crop has escaped the blight and is ready for digging : and then picture to yourselves the look of hopeless despair on the faces of the family as the landlord's agent and the clergyman's representative appear upon the scene, and between them carry off the greater part of the crop, leaving, in some cases, barely sufficient to supply seed for the next year's planting. Think of this, I say, working men, whose lot, though hard enough, has been cast in a happier place ; and judge not too harshly the desperate conduct which, though rarely, has sometimes followed such barbarous and inhuman treatment.

In 1788 Grattan proposed a Select Committee to enquire into the whole subject of tithes, which had become a source of danger to

the peace of the country, and especially in Munster; and when this was defeated he moved a resolution intended to protect the poor families from having their potatoes seized for tithes, as described above; but this also was rejected by the house of landlords.

It was about this time that the first Orange Lodge was formed. Orangemen were a society styling themselves *loyal* to Church and State, as established by William of Orange, and were the sworn enemies of Catholics. To rob, or, better still, to murder, a Catholic was held by Orangemen to be the most meritorious of acts; and, as the *Thugs* of India recommended themselves to their deity, *Khali*, by the sacrifice of the heretic, so the Orangemen propitiated their deity in proportion to the number of Catholic scalps they (metaphorically) carried at their girdle. Grattan, though himself a Protestant, described them as ferocious banditti, committing atrocities in the name of God.

Pitt's early efforts in behalf of Ireland having been defeated by the King and his party, he appears to have adopted an entirely different line of conduct; and Mr. Lecky does not hesitate to declare that his later Irish policy was to

corrupt and degrade, in order that he might ultimately destroy the legislature of the country. Whatever Pitt's private feelings may have been with regard to Ireland, his great object now was to abolish the Irish Parliament, and to this end he shaped his conduct. He had no means of gaining information about Irish affairs otherwise than through, as Mr. Dean says, "the foul channel of the Castle, where every man looked upon the Irish as beasts for prey;" and he may possibly have thought the solution of the problem lay in a legislative union with Great Britain. Be this as it may, he determined to bring it about; and the means he adopted were of the most disgraceful character—so foul, indeed, that polite language cannot adequately describe them.

Lord Cornwallis was viceroy, and Lord Castlereagh was secretary at the time; and possibly two greater miscreants could not have been found for the dirty work they had to do. Respecting the latter, Lord Brougham said:—"Few men of more limited capacity or more meagre acquirements than he possessed had before his day risen to any station of eminence in our free country." But it was not that the

man possessed the bovine intelligence of a fox-hunting squire merely ; he was totally devoid of all sense of moral decency ; and would do unblushingly the most disgraceful things. He was a compound of the basest elements in human nature, without one redeeming feature by which to rescue his character from utter infamy. He possessed, moreover, a species of low cunning, which was as useful for the work in hand as his want of every vestige of moral principle. In short, he was one of those abandoned and loathsome wretches of whom we occasionally read, but rarely meet with in actual life, owing to the extreme rareness of their production.

Such was the character of the man who was selected as the chief instrument in robbing the Irish nation of its Parliament. We have already seen how that Parliament was composed ; and we shall not be surprised to find that it was ready to lend itself to any transaction, however dishonourable, if sufficient inducements were offered in the shape of monetary and other bribes. Lord Castlereagh was accordingly given a free hand ; and he set to work to ascertain the price of every member's vote for the

abolition of the Irish Parliament, and its incorporation in the British Parliament.

The subject of the union was introduced into the Irish House of Commons on the 22nd January, 1799 ; but notwithstanding the lavish distribution of pensions, titles, and monetary bribes, the Government obtained a majority of only one. This was not a satisfactory result, and Pitt instructed his tools to obtain a respectable majority at any cost. Twenty-six of the members were created peers in payment for their votes ; all those who held what were called pocket boroughs received very heavy bribes for their votes, the total amounting to £1,500,000, besides the pensions which were created. And every farthing of this was paid by the Irish people ! This was adding insult to injury with a vengeance. The peers, of course, had to be heavily bribed. Lord Shannon received £45,000 ; Marquis of Ely, £45,000 ; Lord Claremorris, £23,000 ; Lord Belvidere, £15,000 ; Sir H. Langrishe, £15,000, and so on. Having now prepared the Irish Parliament for a favourable vote for the Union, by wholesale bribery and corruption of the most shameful and disgraceful character, the question was

again introduced, when 158 were for the Union and 115 against it.

This was considered a satisfactory majority, and the Irish Parliament ceased to exist. This infamous transaction, in which the Irish people had no voice whatever, except through their small number of 73, who were freely elected, and who all voted dead against it, is known as the Act of Union ; and is the warrant on which the English nation rests its claim to legislate for Ireland in all her domestic concerns. This Act of Union, obtained by means so foul and dishonourable that no reputable writer has ever dared to refer to it in favourable terms, is the contract by which English politicians hold themselves justified in denying to the Irish nation the right to ask for that moderate measure of home rule which will enable Irishmen to manage their own local affairs, without reference to Englishmen, who are necessarily ignorant of the Irish subjects on which, in the English Parliament, they are called upon to legislate.

Such is briefly the outline of the means by which the Act of Union was brought about. And I feel convinced that the Democracy of

England has but to know the true nature of this black and treacherous transaction to proclaim with a loud voice against the iniquitous proceedings of the privileged classes, both inside and outside of Parliament, who not only turn a deaf ear to the just and righteous request of the Irish people for a partial abolition of the hated and infamous Act of Union, but are even now forging fresh fetters, more tyrannous than any preceding ones, for still further oppressing and enslaving the long-abused people.

The cost of the Union to Ireland was, in pensions alone, £60,000 a year; this was in addition to the £1,500,000 capital. The condition of the country may be inferred from the fact that it was deemed necessary to keep up a military force in Ireland of 137,590 men, at a cost of £4,815,367. And, since the soldiers, for the greater part, lived at free quarters upon the poorer classes, a good portion of this sum must have found its way into the pockets of the officials. What with the rapacious official rascals on the one side, and the brutal soldiers on the other, the Irish were indeed ground between two stones. Grattan made one of the most powerful and eloquent speeches ever

uttered by man, against the Union ; but what could it avail ? If all the orators in the world had been rolled into one no effect could have been made upon that corrupt mass.

In 1803 an outbreak occurred, headed by Robert Emmett, but it was at once put down by the Government. It was, in fact, but a small affair, and would have passed almost unnoticed, had it not been for the ferocious and bloody revenge of the Government. Emmett was but a youth just out of his teens. He was an exceptionally and singularly gifted young man, and devoted to his country. His speech before his judge is a fine specimen of fearless, eloquent oratory, and had his life been spared great things might have been expected of him. He could have made his escape, but being passionately in love with Curran's daughter, he was captured while waiting for a last interview with her. He was tried late at night, and hanged early the next morning ! His tragic and melancholy end has been the theme of many a heart-stirring and pathetic song from the best of Ireland's poets. His memory is still green in the hearts of all true Irishmen and Irishwomen, and is likely to remain so.

The following beautiful melody, by Moore, refers to Robert Emmett :—

Oh ! breathe not his name, let it sleep in the shade,
Where, cold and unhonoured, his relics are laid :
Sad, silent, and dark be the tears that we shed,
As the night-dews that fall on the grass o'er his head.

But the night-dew that falls, though in silence it weeps,
Shall brighten with verdure the grave where he sleeps ;
And the tear that we shed, though in secret it rolls,
Shall long keep his memory green in our souls.

After the execution of Emmett Curran's daughter was taken abroad, in the hope that fresh scenes would rouse her from her melancholy. The following, another of Moore's, relates to her :—

She is far from the land where her young hero sleeps,
And lovers around her, sighing ;
But coldly she turns from their gaze and weeps,
For her heart in his grave is lying.

She sings the wild songs of her dear native plains,
Every note which he loved awaking :
Ah ! little they think, who delight in her strains,
How the heart of the minstrel is breaking.

He had lived for his love, for his country he died,
They were all that to life had entwined him :
Nor soon shall the tears of his country be dried,
Nor long will his love stay behind him.

Oh ! make her a grave where the sunbeams rest,
When they promise a glorious morrow :
They'll shine o'er her sleep like a smile from the west,
From her own lov'd island of sorrow.

The Government made the rising of Emmett an excuse for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act ; and the gaols were crowded with men and boys, who were kept as criminals for two and three years without any form of trial or inquiry into their cases. Needless to say the innocent and the guilty alike suffered under such a system. Indeed no person was safe, for any spy or base ruffian had but to give certain information to the authorities, and the victims were at once seized and thrown into prison, where the treatment they received was deliberately planned to cause madness and death. Fearful and terrible were these houses of human torture, in which the soul was torn from the body by the most hellish cruelties, limited only by the power of the victims to suffer.

Pitt made another attempt to befriend Ireland, now that he had succeeded in depriving her of her Parliament, but it so incensed the idiot-king, George III., that the Minister was driven from power, and never after, on resuming the reins of office, spoke one word in her favour. And Ireland dragged on a miserable existence under Martial Law until his death in 1805.

Few persons can possibly have the slightest

idea of the miseries of a people under law which is administered by the military. Let anyone consider for a moment the foolish, bombastic, and brutal utterances of the chief generals of our army, when they occasionally make speeches in public, and ask himself what is likely to be the condition of a people subject to their ignorant and ferocious rule. I do not speak of such a chief as the Duke of Cambridge, he is simply a poor harmless nondescript kind of old gentleman, dressed up in a cocked hat and feathers, a sort of figurehead at which the public good humouredly laugh, when, on stated occasions, his well-known rotund figure (with the inevitable umbrella) is seen. The only significant fact about this punch-and-judy figurehead is the enormous sum of money the people pay yearly for it. But I refer to such men as "our only general," for instance, whose nonsencical utterances of late would shame an ordinary vestryman. Soldiers, from the general downwards, must, of necessity, be men of low intellects and brutal instincts, with scarcely a glimmering of that moral conscience and intellectual perception by which men who advance human progress are characterised. Otherwise they could never deliberately

hire themselves out for the murder of their fellow man, and spend their lives in devising means and perfecting themselves in the use of instruments for the wholesale destruction of their kind, against whom they can have no possible cause of quarrel.

It is, moreover, an acknowledged fact that the soldier must cut and slay without regard to the morality or justice of the quarrel; his "duty" does not embrace that consideration. And when we cast our eyes over history and find that nearly all wars, with scarcely an exception, have been caused either by foolish and irresponsible kings for their own dynastic purposes, or by arrogant and ignorant so-called Statesmen, and have been acts of wanton aggression on the part of the instigators, I say that the men whose business in life is to fight for such reckless and criminal disturbers of the peace of the world, are little higher in the scale of intelligence and moral perception than the lowest and most debased of mankind.

When the public became aware of the fact that George III. was an idiot, and it was no longer possible to permit him to remain the ruler of England, that drunken profligate and

debauchee, the Prince of Wales, was proclaimed Regent, and the Irish fondly believed that a great obstacle to the redress of some of their greatest grievances was removed.

Daniel O'Connell now appeared upon the troubled ocean of Irish politics. He, probably, exercised a greater influence over the Irish people than any man before or since his time. The two great and burning questions were, Repeal of the Union and Catholic Emancipation; and O'Connell threw himself into them with all the energy and ability of his enthusiastic and powerful nature; and never ceased to labour in the cause until worn out and dying he set out for Rome to obtain the blessing of the Pope, but died on his way at Genoa, May 15th, 1847.

The Irish nation, never having consented to the Union, began an agitation for the repeal of the hated measure immediately after its consummation; and O'Connell never, during the whole course of his life, ceased to advocate the restoration of the Irish Parliament on College Green, Dublin. The Irish people longed for the restoration of its Parliament; and never, from 1800 to the present day, have they for one moment given up the hope that this measure of justice

would ultimately be done them. It is no new and sudden demand, as some English politicians would make the people of this country believe, but, on the contrary, the continuation of that cry for the redress of a long standing grievance, which Ireland has never ceased to utter through the ablest and best of her sons.

A Bill for the emancipation of the Catholics passed the House of Commons in 1822, 1823 and 1825, but was thrown out in the House of Lords. The House of Lords has never been known to pass any Bill for the benefit of the people, however necessary and just, until thoroughly frightened by the angry and threatening aspect of the nation. It is the sworn enemy of all just and good legislation; and though it is a thoroughly rotten and decayed institution, and has long lost all active vitality, it contains an enormous capacity for mischief, solely in virtue of the negative power which is left to it. That the people continue to tolerate its existence is an instance of the extreme difficulty there is in extirpating an institution which has been long established, no matter how unsuited to modern requirements, or vicious and obstructive it may have become.

The House of Lords is positively an insult to the intelligence and manhood of England. Its members will be rudely awakened one of these days, and their gilded chamber will know them no more.

O'Connell declared that although an Act of Parliament forbade Roman Catholics to sit and vote in the House of Commons, it did not prevent their election ; and to test the truth of this the Catholic Association, in combination with the priests and people, held on one Sunday 1,500 simultaneous meetings. Thirty thousand of these encamped outside Ennis, while an army, provided with artillery, was waiting to mow them down on the least provocation. The result was that O'Connell was returned, and declared a duly elected Member of Parliament.

In 1829 Sir Robert Peel introduced a Bill for the emancipation of the Catholics. Petitions against it were presented from all parts of England, signed by millions of people, but it passed for all that, and became law on the 13th April. The truth is, no responsible men could be found to form a Government, and even such an old Tory stickler as the Duke of Wellington was obliged to confess the absolute

necessity of admitting Catholics to the franchise. The King, with characteristic royal stubbornness, was to the last bitterly hostile to the Bill; but, like others, he had to bend to the progress of events. Catholics could now sit in Parliament, and vote for members of Parliament. The labour that the country had gone through to obtain this simple act of justice had been enormous.

O'Connell, now in Parliament, carried the struggle for the Repeal of the Union and the restoration of the Parliament on College Green into the camp of the enemy. He was a great orator, and could sway the passions of men, but he could not get through the thick hide of the British legislator to his heart, to induce him to do this act of justice. O'Connell formed associations all over Ireland, but as soon as they were formed they were declared illegal by the Government, and dispersed.

The Tithe War now began in right earnest. The question of tithes is becoming a serious one in England, but no experience of tithes in this country will enable the people to form even an idea of the oppressive nature of the exaction in Ireland. The people were simply unable to pay

the amounts demanded, and no earthly power could wring it from them. The Government and the clergy must have been well aware of this ; and yet they entered into a compact by which the ordinary course of law was superseded by military violence. The Treasury advanced the tithes to their friends, the clergy, and became, instead, the creditors of the people. The military were employed in the collection, and for the recovery of £12,000, no less a sum than £28,000 was expended in military operations, and hundreds of lives sacrificed.

The Protestant Archbishop of Dublin declared, in the House of Lords, that the system under which tithes were levied could only be continued at the point of the bayonet, and by a state of chronic civil war. The tithes were a part of the great agrarian question ; their removal has not brought much relief to the tenant. That Roman Catholics should have been compelled to pay for the support of a Protestant Church, with its high salaried ministers, is probably one of the greatest religious outrages ever known. The Roman Catholics, who were ten times more numerous than the Protestants, bitterly and passionately

resented it ; and long and fierce have been the conflicts to which the flagrant injustice has given rise.

Some of the Bishops received as much as £12,000 a year, and 102 benefices were worth £2,800 a year each. The congregations of many of these wealthy livings consisted of the parson's family and half-a-dozen others. When these incomes were reduced, owing to the impossibility of collecting tithes, the Government paid the arrears to the clergy, and charged the amount, about £1,000,000, to the land. Exchequer Bills were issued to raise the money. This was merely changing the form of extorting the tithes from the people, since the landlords wrung the amount from them by raising the tenants' rents ; and as most of the people, as we have seen, were obliged either to possess land or starve, they had no alternative but to submit.

In 1834 O'Connell brought forward, in the House of Commons, a motion for the Repeal of the Union. Sir Robert Peel argued that there could be no security for "law and property" as long as Mr. O'Connell retained any influence over the Irish people. Lord Salisbury, and his followers pursue the same line now in regard to

Mr. Parnell. It has always been the cry of the British Government to mistrust those whom the Irish nation specially honour and trust. The names of O'Connell and Parnell are dear to nine-tenths of the Irish race all over the world. They are hated and reviled by the majority of the governing classes in England. The impartial and intelligent reader can draw but *one* conclusion from such facts.

We may mention here that the ownership of land at this time was divided between Catholics and Protestants in the proportion of 10,500,000 acres owned by Protestants and 645,000 owned by Catholics, though the Catholic population was ten times more numerous than the Protestant !

The condition of Ireland was in no respects improved by the Union ; indeed, it was, if possible, more unsettled than ever it had been at any period during its long and troubled life. The Act of Union had intensified all the evils from which the country had previously suffered ; and, in addition, several others had been added. Every kind of savage legislation had been tried, and all had signally failed. Even the Marquis of Wellesley was obliged to acknow-

ledge that force was no remedy for the grievances of a people. In 1834 he gave the following description of the condition of the country : " A complete system of legislation, with the most prompt, rigorous, and severe executive power—sworn, equipped, and armed for all purposes of savage punishment—is established in almost every district. . . . The combination surpasses the law in rigour, promptitude, and efficacy, and it is more sane to violate the law than to obey it." That description applies as truthfully and as accurately to every district in Ireland at this moment as it did fifty-three years ago, when it was given by the Duke of Wellington. He declared it was more sane to violate the law than to obey it ; and every man who loves right and justice must admit that in Ireland to-day it is " more sane to violate the law than to obey it."

Of the many curses to Ireland the magistrates have not been the least. We have a slight taste of them in England, where they are under the powerful, restraining influence of public opinion. Yet even here not a week passes by without some of their sentences outraging the public sense of justice. In the sister

island they have, and always have had, a "free hand;" and their doings, if truthfully chronicled, would make one's hair stand on end. When Mr. Drummond—a noble-hearted and just man—was Under-Secretary in Ireland, a letter was addressed by certain Tipperary magistrates to the Lord Lieutenant, complaining of the fearful increase of crime, and instancing certain and specific attacks which they alleged had been made upon gentlemen. Mr. Drummond, after diligent enquiry, found that their statements were a tissue of deliberate falsehoods, intended probably as an excuse or warrant for the introduction of more stringent and coercive measures. Their statements were, in fact, a part of that systematic magisterial procedure, by which material is manufactured which enables a Salisbury Government to justify their incessant demands for stringent and severe legislation. Mr. Drummond was the first, and in all probability the only, high official that has ever tested the truth of the reports of Irish magistrates.

Mr. Drummond wrote the magistrates a letter, in which he pointed out the untruthfulness of their statements; and read them a

lecture on their neglect of duty and generally disgraceful conduct to the poor, so stinging and severe that Lord Donoughmore, the Lord Lieutenant of the county, to whom it was addressed, decided, with the approval of his brother magistrates, to suppress it. On the motion of Mr. Hume, however, it was laid on the table of the House of Commons, and, being reprinted, was disseminated throughout Ireland. It created a tremendous uproar, and was characterised by the magistrates as an *unfeeling* and deliberate insult. Mr. Deane says "Unfeeling! If only the landlords could have had measured to them the measure they meted then, and for a dozen years more, to the poor peasantry, they might have learnt something about feelings." It is to such unscrupulous fabricators of false information that the Salisbury Government's Coercion Bill gives the power to imprison, without trial, for six months, with hard labour, any Irishman against whom they or any other vile wretches may make an accusation!

In 1840 O'Connell formed another association, called the National Loyal Repeal Association. It was in alliance with the temperance

movement, the members of which numbered upwards of 2,000,000. Monster meetings were held in favour of separation from the legislative control of England. At Mullingar, on the 14th May, upwards of 100,000 persons assembled to demonstrate in favour of the Repeal of the Union. At this meeting the Bishop of Ardagh declared that all the Bishops in Ireland were Repealers. Lord Trench and others were removed from the commission of the peace for taking part in this movement.

Again, on the 15th August it is said that 250,000 people assembled at Tara, and declared with one voice their desire for Home Rule. The movement had now become so popular that meetings were being held all over Ireland, and such meetings as are rarely seen in any country. The Government got frightened, and issued a proclamation forbidding them. O'Connell issued an address to the people requesting them not to assemble, or in any way run counter to the authorities. The Irish people knew from long and bitter experience that "obeying the law" would bring no relief to their grievances; and as O'Connell would never countenance any infringement of the edicts of authority, he lost much of

his influence with the more fearless of his countrymen.

Notwithstanding O'Connell's peaceful and constitutional method of agitation, and his constant denunciation of opposition to authority, he was arrested and tried on a charge of conspiracy, sedition, and unlawfully assembling. He was, of course, found guilty by a packed jury, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine of £2,000. And bail was required in £5,000 and two sureties of £2,500 each to keep the peace for seven years. The judgment being bad in law was upset on appeal to the House of Lords.

The national food of Ireland, as is well known, is the potato, and if this fails the food of the people is gone. Having no money they are literally without subsistence or the means of procuring it when bad seasons for the potato crop overtake them. Partial failure was no uncommon thing, and the poor people were familiar enough with scarcity and want, but nothing approaching 1845-7 had ever been known before. Just before this terrible blight the population of Ireland was in round numbers eight and a quarter millions. I cannot do better

than give Mr. Deane's description of this terrible visitation.

“ Nothing had ever occurred like the blight of 1845-7. . . . When it came it seemed as though the blast of a simoom had passed over the land. The crop was an unusually heavy one, and the anticipations of harvest were joyous. When the strange visitation came, and whole tracts of the potato growth were changed, sometimes in a single night, from smiling luxuriance to a shrivelled and blackened waste. Altogether the blight did its work in a fortnight. But the brave Paddy did not sink under the blow. He did what he could, he hoped what he might. The crop *was* heavy, some good food was to be found in it, and by going on short commons, by spending nothing, and going cold and almost naked, they could plant for next year. But in the winter the potatoes were found to be rotting in pit and storehouse. Many a family succumbed to cold, and famine, and disease, but all tried to struggle on and live, and a bright prospect smiled once more upon them as the summer sun shone, and the fields looked verdant and luxuriant once more. But once more, and ever more suddenly—in a night—the angel of

despair swept over the land, and when men awoke their fields were blasted and dead, and no portion of their life-sustenance escaped. Even in their own brave hearts were dismay, paralysis, and death ; a sort of stupor fell upon them. If one spoke to them they could not answer ; they hung their heads ; they could not be roused ; they could but go in and close their cabin doors and die. Into the towns and cities some made their way, and, arriving, sat down in doorways to rest, and wait, and die. Emigrant ships were loaded with those who got help to escape from the angel of death, but there, too, in the crowds, the filth, and the horrors, the relentless King of Terrors claimed them for his own. Black '47 was a year of woe inconceivable and unutterable. It cost Ireland in human beings, through emigration and death, two millions of persons, and the population has gone on decreasing ever since. The people were gone, and Repeal was dead. Aye, and so was the Liberator (O'Connell). When the nation was in the throes of death the old man broke down—his brain could not bear the strain. He hastened away to find rest in the South." He died, as we have said, on his way to Rome.

Such another picture of suffering is scarcely to be found in the pages of European history. It appals the heart to think of it, and yet, we have it on official record, it was at this very time that the landlords mercilessly enforced their "rights" of turning the poor out of house and home! Immediately after this terrible famine no fewer than 263,000 families, consisting of 1,841,000 persons, were *evicted*! Surely the world has not often bred such *deliberately* inhuman monsters as history shows the Irish landlords to have been.

Lord John Russell said in Parliament, speaking of these evictions: "They were turned out of their wretched dwellings, without pity and without refuge." And he added, "we have made Ireland—I speak it deliberately—we have made it the most depraved and the most miserable country in the world; but we are callous to our own ignominy, and to the results of our misgovernment." As to the manner in which these evictions were carried out, Lord S. G. Osborne, in his "Gleanings in Ireland," says the evictions of the starved and dying peasantry took place in such circumstances that were but one such case to happen in England there

would be no peace in the press till the landlord, sheriff, bailiff, and all the *posse* had taken their trial for manslaughter.

Hitherto there had been little or no united action between the Catholics and the Protestants, but the time had now arrived when religious differences were to be merged in the great question of political action. William Smith O'Brien, a Protestant, and a Member of Parliament, gave prominence to the doctrine that religion was no sufficient basis for political action; and since then Protestants and Catholics have worked together for the attainment of common ends.

The national aspiration for the restoration of the Parliament, which had always been a living and active principle, now took active form in the formation of "Young Ireland" and the "Fenian Brotherhood." The former association was founded by Messrs. C. G. Duffy, T. O. Davis, and John Blake Dillon, by whom the newspaper, *The Nation*, was started. Their motto was "Educate, that you may be free"—a better motto no association ever adopted. John Mitchell, who was connected with *The Nation* in its early days, became impatient of its

peace policy, and being unable to persuade his colleagues to a more warlike course, retired, and started a paper of his own—*The United Irishman*—in which he preached a policy of insurrection.

Mitchell was quickly arrested, tried, and sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. O'Brien, Duffy, and others were also arrested; the former was sentenced to death, which was eventually commuted to transportation for life; against the latter no conviction could be obtained, though he was tried three times, and the Government used the utmost efforts to secure a conviction. For nearly a year state trials filled the courts, and death sentences spread dismay among the people.

In 1850 the condition of the people was one of extreme poverty and weakness, owing to the great famine through which they had recently passed. The landlords in many cases took advantage of their helpless condition to clear them off their estates; and it will not surprise us to learn that much agrarian crime resulted. Mr. John Bright, in the House of Commons, urged the Government to legislate for landlord and tenant; but as he appealed to those who

were themselves landlords, or intimately connected with landlordism, and the Nationalist party in the House of Commons—about half-a-dozen—was too weak and insignificant to give any trouble, the Government treated the matter with its customary indifference, and nothing was done. Landlords went on evicting and the people suffering. The soldier and the policeman were everywhere at work arresting “suspects” and unroofing the hovels of the poor; the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and military violence took the place of law; a soldier might run his bayonet through the heart of man, woman, or child, or a policeman dash out their brains with his baton, and no punishment follow the murderous deeds; and this only a few short years ago! Englishmen who are unacquainted with Irish history will question the truth of these statements; but unfortunately they are facts of history about which there can be no doubt.

The celebrated O'Donovan Rossa in 1858 was instrumental in starting another society called the Phoenix Club, one of the leading members of which was James Stephens, who, a short time subsequently, organized the “Fenian Brother-

hood." The name is derived from Fin or Fion, who was the leader of the Irish national militia seventeen centuries ago. The object of the Fenians was separation from England. Rossa and many others were arrested, "tried," and transported for life. Since his liberation he has never ceased to try and pay back to England the debt he owes her, for the treatment he received while in prison, which is said to have been of an unspeakably cruel and barbarous character. Thanks to his iron constitution which kept him alive through all the hardships he had to undergo, he is still the unsubdued and implacable foe of the tyrant of his country. As to the accusations that have been brought against him by the English press, of robbing the societies he has been connected with, they are but a part of those lies, in the manufacture of which the press of this country indulges when writing on Irishmen or Irish subjects.

The Fenians became a considerable force, especially in America, which was proved in 1866 by their invasion of Canada. Had it not been for the prompt action taken by the Government of the United States, the Canadian Government would undoubtedly have been

overthrown, and Irishmen would have been master of the situation. The possession of Canada would have given them an incalculable advantage, inasmuch as it would have supplied them with a country in which to raise, equip, organize, and drill an army of Irishmen, against whom the British arms would have been powerless. Probably many thousands of Irishmen in the British army would be only too glad to join such an army of their countrymen in such a cause. Men and money would not be wanting for the formation of an army, which could not only take Ireland and hold it against the power of England, but would be able to inflict considerable injury upon us, and ravage the country from John O'Groats to Land's End.

In possession of Canada, or other suitable ground, it would be no difficult matter for the Irish people all over the world to raise an army of 100,000 men, every one of whom would be animated with the most bitter hatred of England, and the most intense enthusiasm for the cause in which he was called upon, by the long and bitter wrongs of his country, to fight. I believe the Irish people could command

a quarter of a million men if necessary ; and against an army composed of such men what hope would there be for our poor army, composed as it is for the greater part of weak, stunted, half-starved hirelings from the slums of our towns and cities ; and led by such a *general* as the Bobadil of our army ?

The English fire-eaters would probably say, we command the seas, and would not allow them to land either in England or in Ireland ; but experience proves that difficulties frequently vanish before the resolute will of determined men. And, moreover, it is not at all an unlikely thing that England may be engaged in hostilities with some great nation in the near future. We must bear in mind also that there has recently been imported another element into the Irish question with which we shall have to reckon. During the last thirty or forty years an enormous Irish party has been growing up in America. The many thousands of children that went to America after the famine of '47, took with them an undying hatred of England ; and they and their children are prepared to make any sacrifice in the cause of Ireland. The Irish nation is no longer confined to the

little island that bears the name of Ireland, but exists in millions in America and elsewhere, all animated with the same hope and the same determination. In Ireland they know this, and feel that for the first time in their long struggle *they do not stand alone*. The sympathies of the liberty-loving American people are with them ; the Democracy of England, Scotland and Wales is with them ; the moral conscience of the world is on their side ; but the glazed-eyed boobies of the privileged classes in England do not see this ; they never see anything but their own selfish interests, and as long as their voice predominates the people cannot hope for justice.

Most of the rebellious attempts of the Irish have been marked by folly, weakness, and treachery. In nearly every case some informer has upset their plans, if plans they could be called, in which the utter impossibility of success must have been apparent to every one concerned. The projected attack on Chester Castle was a piece of childish nonsense, and the attempted rescue of Kelly and another little better than madness. It will be remembered by many that Kelly and another were being con-

veyed to prison in a police van, when a number of armed men shot the horses and tried to break open the door. Police-sergeant Brett received a mortal wound as he was looking through the keyhole from the inside. The shot was fired into the lock for the purpose of breaking open the door. Many arrests were made, and five men were tried for murder. They were all found guilty and sentenced to death. One owed his life to the brave intervention of a newspaper reporter, who conclusively proved his innocence, while another was spared because he was an American ! Any number of Irishmen might be judicially murdered with impunity ; there was no one to call the murderers to account ; but with an American citizen the case was very different ; and England showed in this instance, as in a good many others of late, that discretion is the better part of valour. The other three were executed in spite of the protestations of such men as John Stuart Mill, John Bright, and others, who strongly represented to the Government the folly and guilt of allowing the sentence to be carried out. It was a violation of British law, of justice and humanity ; but—*the victims were only Irishmen.*

The land laws of Ireland are probably not much worse than those of England. In both countries the land is rapidly going out of cultivation in consequence of those laws. In Ireland there have been a good many tinkering Land Bills, but the real evils have not been touched by them; and there is little hope that any legislation in this direction will mitigate the distress of the agricultural people until the crisis arrives, and landlordism is swept away for ever. Day by day more land goes out of cultivation; between the landlords and the tenants a bitter strife is constantly maintained, and it is intensified a hundredfold on the part of the tenants by the Government's lending to the landlords the military and the police forces to carry out their evictions.

The English public is now tolerably familiar with the barbarous cruelties practised by the landlords and their agents in evicting the poor from their homes. The last device is to pour petroleum over the straw roof of the cabin from which the family is to be driven, and then set fire to it! The dead and the dying have been repeatedly carried out on stretchers and laid on the bare, cold, damp ground, without covering

of any kind. And the horrors have been such that the soldiers and police have stood and wept at the sights of misery and suffering of which they were compelled to be, in a measure, the unwilling agents. Over and over again they have raised subscriptions among themselves on the spot for the poor victims of evictions. While the landlords had the power in their hands, before the National League was established, none dared give shelter to an evicted family, under penalty of being themselves turned out of house and home. Every species of diabolical ingenuity was devised by the landlords to punish and torture their helpless victims. And it is a marvel that they have escaped as they have the righteous vengeance of an outraged people. The Nihilists of Russia would have made short work of them long ago. Indeed, if the stern, self-sacrificing spirit of Nihilism had animated any considerable number of Irishmen, England would have been spared the black pages of history which her truthful historians are compelled to write.

It should be mentioned that the project of Home Rule has not always been confined to one party. Under Mr. Isaac Butt's leadership

of the Irish party in the House of Commons the ideas of Home Rulers were quite different to those held by the party now. Originally the interests of the privileged classes predominated; these have given place to broader views, embracing the welfare of the people and of the entire nation.

In 1875 Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell entered Parliament. His cool, calm, deliberate conduct soon marked him out as the most able and fit to lead his party. Under his leadership the Irish party has become a great power in the British Parliament; and it is the beloved and trusted representative of the Irish nation. The Irish members have gradually fought their way to the front with marked ability and indomitable perseverance; and have at length silenced those loud and boisterous British legislators, whose voices were never heard except to shout and roar and laugh when an Irish member was addressing the House. Most of those roarers are now cowed and silenced, and they submissively perform the humble functions befitting their native intelligence—viz., vote as they are directed by their leaders.

The potato crops of 1877-78 were very short,

but the following year, 1879, was the worst that had been known in the generation; and, following the two previous bad years, produced an immense amount of poverty and distress. Mr. Michael Davitt indicated the true source of all the agrarian troubles of his country, and to him belongs the honour of having first advocated a doctrine which alone can solve the agrarian difficulties. He boldly declared that "rent for land, in any circumstances, prosperous times or bad times, was an unjust and immoral tax upon the industry of the people." And he advocated the nationalization of the land as the true and only effectual solution of the problem. Mr. Parnell, in opposition to this, proposed peasant proprietorship—a scheme utterly unsound and futile. The land was to be *purchased* from the landlords and given to another class of men, who would be the absolute owners, and differ from the former only in respect to cultivating their land themselves. Peasant proprietorship is a scheme in favour of landlords, and is by them heartily desired, as it would enable them to obtain an enormous sum of money from the nation for that which the growing intelligence of the people is rapidly teaching them ought

never to have been appropriated as private property, and which cannot be much longer so held.

It would be the greatest injustice to the people to compel them to buy the land from the landlords, and present it to the peasants, or to any one else. Apart from this, ownership in land is unjust, and opposed to the highest interest of the community, which is an unanswerable argument against it. If nationalized it would belong to the entire body of the people of the nation, and the rent paid by cultivators would go towards national expenditure. To cultivate the soil is paramount to every other consideration, and it is the bounden duty of the people, in every country, to take possession of their land.

Whatever arguments there may be in favour of private ownership in other kinds of property, they cannot apply to land, which, unlike other kinds, is the labour of *no* man, and is essential to the existence of *all* men. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Davitt was persuaded to give up the advocacy of his scheme, and fall in with Mr. Parnell's views. I feel quite certain that Mr. Davitt's real opinions on the subject are not altered in the slightest; but he probably was

influenced by considerations of expediency in consenting to drop his scheme in favour of Mr. Parnell's. For such a man as Mr. Davitt to break from the Irish party would weaken it greatly. He is a man of whom any nation might justly feel proud. His mind is comprehensive and profound; and, while he is second to none as a patriot, his heart is great enough to feel for the struggling classes in England as well as in Ireland; and he plainly sees that the interests of both are identical.

The necessity of making land national property is fast becoming as great in England as it is now in Ireland, and no man knows this better than Mr. Davitt, or has spoken out more boldly upon the subject. Justice to the people, either of Ireland or of England, will never be done by the upper and middle classes. The Democracies of the two countries must combine, and fight it out with the privileged classes, who are the real obstructors of all progress. The sooner the English and the Irish working men recognize this fact the sooner will they be on the road to a better state of existence. The greatest sign of hope for the future of both peoples is that they are now beginning to know each

other ; and the English public is now for the first time learning the truth about the cruel tyranny and misrule practised for so many generations in Ireland by the upper classes in England. The frantic efforts, the fabricated charges, the foul and lying aspersions of the *Times* and the smaller fry of a part of the press in England are no longer able to hide from the people the real facts. The truth is out at last ; and the hired crew of rascally scribblers and defamers who have battered on the miseries of the poor for so long, now stand exposed to the light of day in all the ugly deformity of their loathsome nature.

The Land League was projected by Mr. Davitt in 1879. In accordance with the views of Mr. Parnell, its object was to purchase the land for the people ; and both Mr. Davitt and Mr. Parnell lectured in America and elsewhere for the purpose of raising the necessary money—a hopeless and impossible task. The League soon had branches all over the country, and was becoming a power even in England, where numerous branches were formed. It had the good effect of turning the eyes of the English people to the shameful condition of the land in

this country, and an active agitation began for land nationalization, which will go on with increased activity as soon as Home Rule is granted for Ireland. The Land League was recognized by the ruling classes as a dangerous enemy to landlordism throughout the United Kingdom, and the authorities lost no time in suppressing it. It was declared an *illegal* association, and the Government took the most extraordinary pains to have every branch of it suppressed and rooted out.

During its brief existence the landlords were acting in the most atrocious manner in turning the poor out of their homes, and razing their houses to the grounds—houses which the occupiers themselves had built. In order to do this with the greater impunity the landlords had induced their friends in power to seize and imprison the most eminent of the Irish leaders; and accordingly Messrs. Davitt, Dillon, Parnell, Healy, Sexton, O'Kelly, and one thousand besides, were arrested and thrown into gaol. But the landlords did not have it all their own way. From their prison the leaders issued the famous No-Rent Manifesto, and from one end of Ireland to the other tenants refused to pay

rent while their leaders were incarcerated in gaol. This quickly brought the landlords to their senses, and again they went crying to their friends, the Government ; this time, however, *for the release of the leaders*, whose advice from their prison cells had been so potent as to stop the payment of all rent.

The Irish people rallied round their trusty leaders, and the British Government, with all its power, was helpless to move a finger until the imprisoned patriots were released. The members went back to their places in Parliament—not however with the air of men who had just come out of prison cells, but with that of men who had achieved a moral victory ; and no one felt this more keenly than their gaolers, whom they again confronted in Parliament, and whose shamefaced and humiliated appearance was in striking contrast with the bearing of their victims.

The suppression of the Land League gave rise to the formation of another and far more influential association. In 1882 a conference of Irish National Parties took place in Dublin ; and it was resolved to unite all sections of Nationalists in a new organization, under the

name of the Irish National League. The objects were "National Self-Government, Extension of the Parliamentary and Municipal Franchise, and the development and encouragement of the labour and industrial interests of Ireland." The National League has, however, been active in every department of Irish life, and has done a vast amount of good in counter-acting evictions, and other oppressive measures of the landlords, who roar with demoniac fury at the very name of the League. To hundreds of evicted families it has rendered timely monetary and other assistance, and has thus been the means of saving from starvation many who must without such aid have perished. Wherever an eviction is to take place members of the League are present, and the effect has been to mitigate those cruelties with which such scenes were formerly accompanied. The greatest ruffian among the landlords hesitates now to burn the roof over the head of a dying mother and starving children, knowing that the League will expose his conduct to the indignation of the world. Notwithstanding the sure exposure, however, occasionally, as at Glenbeigh quite recently, a thrill of horror is

sent through the country by a repetition of the heartless evictions of the past.

“ Eighty starving families at Glenbeigh were thrown out into ditches in the depth of winter! Their own houses (built by themselves) burnt over their heads, with paraffin, by bum-bailiffs, aided by armed police whom Englishmen pay!”

The following particulars are taken from the *Daily News* :—

CORK, JAN. 13, 1887.

Some terrible eviction scenes were witnessed yesterday at GLENBEIGH, co. Kerry, on the estate of the Hon. Rowland Winn. The Winn estate, which lies about midway between the towns of Killorglin and Caherciveen, has a rental of about £1,600 a year out of land the most barren and desolate. For the past five years a futile war has been carried on against the tenants—poor people whose lot has ever been dire poverty. The County Court Judge of Kerry endeavoured to effect a settlement between the landlord and tenants, but the latter could not pay any of the arrears due. Decrees to the number of seventy were then placed in the hands of the agent, and yesterday the work of execution commenced. The agent adopted a policy of wanton cruelty, and his work will help to bring the land war in Ireland to a crisis. He burned the roofs of the houses almost over the heads of the people, and stood calmly by smoking a cigar until the last smouldering spark of their homesteads expired.

The eviction cavalcade consisted of the sub-sheriff's deputy, four bailiffs, Mr. Roe the agent, and six emergency bailiffs brought from Dublin, the whole protected by a force of about fifty policemen under command of Mr. Morrison, district inspector. GLENBEIGH was reached at the earliest hour the law allowed evictions to be carried out at.

The farm of Patrick Reardon was the starting point. Reardon informed the agent that he was unable to pay, and got back the reply that his house would be burned around him, and so quickly was the threat put into execution that he was scarcely allowed time to get out his furniture, when a match was put to the roof. The people became greatly excited, and it took the efforts of a number of gentlemen in the crowd to keep back a demonstration of their indignation. While the flames roared the agent stood by and looked on as his staff attacked the walls with their crowbars, and only ceased when all was demolished. The tenants, rent is £4 10s.; his valuation £2 17s. He has eight in family, and has no stock.

The holding of Thomas Burke, of Droum, was then proceeded to. The rent in this case is £4 19s., and the valuation £3. There is a family of six. The tenant was unable to pay a penny. The bailiffs tried to set the roofs on fire, but the thatch, or rather surface soil with which it was covered, would not ignite with all their efforts. The agent then ordered the house to be pulled down, and the bailiffs at once attacked the walls with crowbars, and at length laid every stone of it level. The scene was a sad one. The inmates of the hut were half naked, and emaciated by hunger, and it made one feel sore to witness the grief which they showed. Every moment the crowd became more excited, and now they would have stoned the bailiffs but for the influence brought to bear on them.

In the next case the holding was a joint one, the tenants being Patrick Diggin and Thomas Diggin. The former had eight in family, and the latter ten. There were four cows on the entire place. Patrick Diggin's wife offered the agent a gale's rent and the law costs, which she assured him was all the money she possessed, and that had been given to her by a daughter who was employed as a farm servant in Limerick. The offer was not accepted, though the sheriff's deputy would evidently have been glad to escape the duty, and urged the agent to take the money. The match was again put to the roof, but no sooner had this been done than the sheriff's representative drove off and left the agent looking at the conflagration from the body

of the police. Patrick Diggin, an old man of 80, taking his little grandchild in his arms, wandered up the glen aimlessly. His aged wife, unnoticed in the excitement, lay swooning on the ground. Roar after roar of indignation went up from the crowd, and the position seemed very threatening when Mr. E. Harrington, M.P., appeared on the scene. The police seemed affected, and many of them quickly came forward to subscribe to a sum a sergeant was collecting for the benefit of the poor evicted people. All along the agent stood watching them, and was proceeding to get up on his car when the roof had fallen in, when Mr. Harrington, from the top of the ditch opposite him, addressed the people as follows:—"People of Glenbeigh,—I have only arrived here just now, and take the opportunity to speak to you before this fellow, this red-handed wretch, who preys on the blood of the people living in this valley. (Cheers.) Here in this glen, on this winter's evening, before God, I denounce him the incendiary who set fire to the roofs over your heads. (Wild cheers.) I tell you even now, people of Glenbeigh, that you need not and must not be intimidated by him. Keep patient. Let no man, woman, or child stir a finger, or do any foolish act, for I tell you you will be here after this scoundrel and his masters have been hunted." (Loud and enthusiastic cheering.) During the last sentence the eviction cavalcade had got in motion towards Glenbeigh, amid a scene of wild excitement. The people had to be restrained from following in a threatening mood.

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CORK, JAN. 14, 1887.

The terrible evictions at Glenbeigh, county Kerry, were continued yesterday and to-day. At yesterday's evictions forty persons—from the sickly child to the helpless old man of fourscore—were left homeless. The scenes were the most distressing probably ever witnessed, even in Kerry.

Yesterday's evictions were carried out under a heavy down-pour of rain. In the case of one tenant, named Pat Reardon, an exciting and peculiarly painful scene occurred. The miser-

able house was emptied, but the tenant's infant child was dying, and its mother begged of the agent a shelter for it for the night; but he refused, and he ordered the bailiff to nail up the door. The poor woman cried piteously, and laid the dying child in the pigstye in the yard, and tried to procure straw for a bed there. The people were very excited, and a spark might have brought on an outbreak. A bailiff was nailing up the door, when a young girl standing by rushed on him with a shovel, and dealt him a blow on the head which made him reel. The agent at once ordered the girl's arrest, and she submitted. Under an escort of ten policemen with rifles she was being carried down to the main body on the road, when a wild rush was made by the men on the police, and in a few seconds the girl was again in the middle of her friends. Mr. Harrington, M.P., at once counselled the people to resume their quiet attitude, which they did. Meanwhile the agent on the road was giving orders to the police and their officer alike to attack the people and arrest the girl.

On visiting the house of the next tenant to be evicted, Michael Rahilly, a melancholy sight met the evictors. Lying on a bundle of wet straw in the centre of the smoky cabin was an old woman; while her children, one of them supporting her head, and the others standing around, waited the approach of death. The agent, sub-sheriffs, and the staff of bailiffs at once formed themselves into a medical council, and went to see the poor woman; but even they could not close their eyes to the terrible facts, and they retired hastily.

The evictions of Michael Griffin and Thomas Griffin were next carried out. Thomas has nine in family, the youngest of his children being an infant of three months. The other children were naked, half-starved little creatures, who cried bitterly at being turned out to the ditch side. The sight of these wretched children appeared to reawaken all the excitement of the crowd, and at the next house a scene was enacted which has brought on a climax in these terrible evictions. The tenant, whose name is Michael Griffin, had his door and windows barricaded at the approach of the attacking party. About

a dozen of policemen, with rifles, placed themselves behind the bailiffs, and after the frail door flew in fragments at the blows of the hatchet a struggle took place inside. A couple of girls and children escaped through the windows and a young man was arrested after them. As the handcuffs were being put on, an acting sergeant named Mullis particularized himself by a savage and most unnecessary assault on the prisoner. This act, which was witnessed by the crowd, brought on another rush towards the house, but at this moment the tenant's wife, who was in delicate health, was brought out in a fainting fit. The poor woman was laid down in the yard, while alongside her the police were forming into a double line and loading their rifles. At every moment the crowd seemed ready to rush on the police to the rescue of those in the house, who were being made prisoners. The scene was one of terrible confusion, and a bloody encounter appeared inevitable.

Mr. Harrington, M.P., got on the fence of the yard and said : People of Glenbeigh, I ask you in God's name to be quiet for one moment, and listen to me (creis of yes, yes, mingled with a wild declaration from the women that the tenant's wife had expired).

Mr. Harrington : Then kneel down and say a prayer if the poor woman is dying.

It was awfully touching to witness the manner in which the people acted. Many threw themselves down on their knees in the gutter and sink of the yard, and raised their hands in prayer, while from some shouts and imprecations loud and terrible arose.

The Marquis of Salisbury's cure for this misery is "Twenty years of Coercion !"

No language can be bad enough to describe the monsters who practice such inhumanity.

A gentleman was secretly sent to Rome a short time ago by the British Government to

endeavour to enlist the assistance of the heads of the Catholic Church in dealing with the Irish leaders ; and the Pope was induced to give the weight of his great authority to the Government. But it was quickly made known, to the great astonishment of Rome and the Government, that a change had come over the spirit of the Irish people ; and that in their political struggles they were no longer amenable to the dictates of ecclesiastical authority, however high. Moreover, many of the high church dignitaries and most of the priests of Ireland were heartily with the people, and have done, and are doing, good work as their local leaders. Mr. T. M. Healy dexterously rescued the Pope from an awkward dilemma, by declaring that his Holiness had been imposed upon by a false representation of the condition of Ireland and the Irish question generally, which was probably the case.

Mr. M. G. Mulhall, in his " Fifty Years' National Progress," referring to Ireland, says : — " The present reign has been the most disastrous since that of Elizabeth, as the following statistics show :—

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| Died of famine | - | - | - | - | - | 1,225,000 |
| Persons evicted | - | - | - | - | - | 3,668,000 |
| Number of emigrants | - | - | - | - | - | 4,186,000 |

“ Evictions were most numerous immediately after the famine :—

| Years. | Families. | Persons. |
|---------|-----------|-----------|
| 1849-51 | 263,000 | 1,841,000 |
| 1852-60 | 110,000 | 770,000 |
| 1861-70 | 47,000 | 329,000 |
| 1871-86 | 104,000 | 728,000 |

“The number of persons evicted is equal to 75 per cent. of the actual population. No country, either in Europe or elsewhere, has suffered such wholesale extermination. Emigration since 1837 has amounted to a number equal to 84 per cent. of the present population :—

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| 1837-50 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1,085,000 |
| 1851-60 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1,231,000 |
| 1861-70 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 867,000 |
| 1871-86 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1,003,000 |

Existing Irish settlements abroad, and the estimated wealth in their possession, show that the bulk of the emigrants were good citizens, of thrifty and industrious habits, viz. :—

| | Number. | Wealth—Million £. |
|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| United States - - - | 2,040,000 | 388 |
| Canada - - - | 1,053,000 | 111 |
| Australia - - - | 666,000 | 132 |
| Buenos Ayres - - - | 37,000 | 18 |
| Cape Colony, &c. - - | 25,000 | 6 |
| | <hr/> 3,811,000 | <hr/> 655 |

“In one generation four million emigrants, who left home penniless, have become possessed of real and personal property to the amount of 655 millions sterling, besides having sent home to their friends since 1851 a sum of 32 millions.” These figures require no comment ; they speak for themselves. They are a terrible indictment against England.

I have not dwelt upon the many times the Habeas Corpus Act has been suspended in Ireland. Since the Union it has been almost continuously suspended, for the operation of the 86 Coercion Acts which have been passed during that period. We in England cannot realize the condition of the Irish people under the tyranny of Coercion Acts. The people are slaves pure and simple. They can be imprisoned without trial, or without being told what their offence is, at the will and pleasure of officials. They can be, and have been, confined in dark and noisome dungeons for years, as long as the Act lasts, and fed or starved as their gaolers think fit. They can be, and have been, forbidden to leave their houses from sunset to sunrise, under pain of being seized and thrown into prison. Policemen and others can, and often do, enter bed-

chambers at all hours of the night, strip the clothes off the female members of the family, and otherwise behave in the most brutal and indecent manner. Every newspaper can be suppressed at the will and pleasure of officials ; and no one has the right to hold public meetings of any kind unless permitted by " authority." In short, under Coercion Act government the most fearful despotism reigns supreme, and no man's property or life is safe for one moment.

It will be remembered that a few years ago Mr. Henry George, an eminent American citizen, and Mr. Joynes, one of the masters at Eton College, were travelling in Ireland, when they were rudely seized by the police and thrown into gaol, notwithstanding that they were able to prove who and what they were ; and were only released on receipt of a peremptory order from the British Government. For this gross insult ample apology had to be given to the American Government. If officials in Ireland had the audacity to act in such a way with an American of world-wide celebrity, knowing, as they must, that England would be called to account for the outrage, what kind of treatment may we suppose such officials would accor

to the Irish people? The police, in fact, well knew who Mr. George was, and that he was in Ireland for the purpose of studying the condition of the people and the country; and they insolently followed him about from place to place for days, and at last arrested him and his companion. The police and other officials resented, forsooth, the intrusion of enquirers into Ireland, where they were accustomed to have it all their own way, and to commit every kind of outrage without being called to account.

Now, for the first time during all this long and sad history, a statesman has proposed to end the bitter strife and wrong doing, by giving to the Irish nation what she has been so long asking for through the majority of her representatives in the British Parliament. Mr. Gladstone has recognized the justice, as well as the expediency of no longer withholding the demand for Home Rule, in all those matters which are purely Irish, and not of an Imperial character. Many statesmen have admitted the justice of such a measure, but probably none have ever possessed the power and influence necessary to justify them in introducing a Bill of such a character in the British Parliament. No

living statesman enjoys anything like Mr. Gladstone's influence among all classes of the people ; and I believe the verdict of history will be that he is the greatest statesman England has ever produced. Mr. Gladstone is not a democrat, nor an advocate for revolutionary measures ; his sympathies are strongly with the privileged classes, to which he belongs, and with which his interests and those of his family are intimately bound up. He is, I firmly believe, one of the last men to propose a measure which would lead to the disintegration of the Empire, or in any way weaken the influence we possess as a great nation. On the contrary, he would be passionately opposed to anything at all likely to lead to such results.

He has declared over and over again his firm conviction that Home Rule, so far from separating Ireland from England, will have the effect of binding her to us more firmly than ever ; and, not as hitherto, in the bonds of brotherly love. It will, I think, be granted that few men are better able than Mr. Gladstone to foresee the consequences of political action ; and his deliberate opinion is therefore of the utmost value. He is a strong Imperialist,

and he believes the granting of Home Rule to Ireland will best serve the interests of imperialism, as well as the interests of justice. He knows full well that the development of the moral forces has reached a point beyond which it is impossible to continue to govern Ireland on the old lines ; and he sees clearly that there is no alternative to Home Rule. When party passion subsides it will be seen that *he is the true Unionist*.

It is much to be regretted that the Home Rule Bill has not had the powerful advocacy of Mr. John Bright. Had it been introduced a few years ago, before age had impaired his noble generous faculties, there can be no doubt his eloquent voice would have been raised, as of yore, in support of so necessary and just a measure. Indeed, his whole life has been a long protest against the continuance of the terrible injustice that has marked our rule in Ireland ; and no man has spoken more strongly in condemnation of our conduct, or more fervently in favour of granting to Ireland her desire for Home Rule.

The decay of a noble mind is at all times a sorrowful spectacle, but it is doubly so when

its owner has passed a long life in the service of the people, and has come to be looked upon as their trusted and revered guide. When I read Mr. Bright's solution of the Irish question my amazement was quickly followed by a keen sense of pain, as I was forced to the conclusion that the great Tribune had really passed away ; and that his invaluable services were lost to that great cause which for so many years he has had at heart, and on which he has spoken so often and so eloquently. I was reminded of another melancholy occasion, when the people had to deplore the decay of great and splendid abilities, at a time when they would have been of the utmost value to the cause of progress and humanity. I refer to Mr. Edmund Burke. Mr. Henry Buckle, in his " History of Civilization," has shown conclusively that Burke was no longer himself when he wrote his *Thoughts on a Regicide Peace*. The utterances of great men at such times are sadly to be deplored, as they are sure to be made use of by the enemies of the people—by that very class who are bitterly antagonistic to those great men in their life-labours, but who gleefully and triumphantly quote them when Nature's decay has reduced

the noble intellects almost to the level of those of their opponents.

The following are a few of the utterances of Mr. Bright on Ireland :—

Ireland is a land of many sorrows. *Men fight for supremacy and call it Protestantism* ; they fight for evil and bad laws, and call it acting for the defence of property.

Speech in Dublin, 2nd November, 1866.

I have thought, if I could be in all other things the same but by birth an Irishman, there is not a town in this island I would not visit for the purpose of discussing the great Irish question, and of rousing my countrymen to some great and united action. I do not believe in the necessity of widespread and perpetual misery. I do not believe that we are placed on this island and on this earth, that one man may be great and wealthy, and revel in every profuse indulgence, and five, six, nine, or ten men shall suffer the abject misery which we see so commonly in the world. With your soil, your climate, and your active and spirited race, I know not what you might not do.

Mr. Bright, speaking in the House of Commons, on the 25th August, 1848, observed :—

Let us think of the half-million who within two years past have perished miserably in the workhouses, on the highways, and in their hovels—more—far more—than ever fell by the sword in any war this country ever waged ; let us think of the crop of nameless horrors which is even now growing up in Ireland, and whose disastrous fruit may be gathered in years and generations to come.

Speaking at Rochdale, on the 23rd December, 1867, Mr. Bright said :—

I entirely disagree with those who, when any crisis or trouble arises in Ireland, say that you must first of all preserve order, you must put down all disloyalty and disobedience to the law, you must assert the supremacy of the Government, and then consider the grievances that are complained of. This has been the case in Ireland for 200 years. The great preserver there has been the gallows. Now twenty years ago many of you will recollect that in Ireland, under the guidance of one of Ireland's greatest sons, the late Mr. O'Connell, there were held in Ireland meetings of vast numbers of people, equal probably in number to the meetings that were held a year ago in Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, and in London. Those meetings were held to condemn certain things that were evil in Ireland, to demand remedies, to even insist that there should be a repeal of the legislative union between the two countries, for many thought that only an Irish Parliament could abolish the miseries of Ireland, but there is not one of you that can point to any single great measure of justice which has been given to Ireland in consequence of these great meetings. The grievances were not remedied. The demands of the people were not conceded. Nothing has been done in Ireland except under the influence of terror. In 1829 the Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed, but the Duke of Wellington admitted it was passed because he would not take the responsibility of civil war. Afterwards, when a great famine took place, a Poor Law was passed for Ireland, and the Encumbered Estates Court was established, in order that the sale of land might be made more free ; but except under the pressure of some great emergency no man can point to anything great or good having been done by the Imperial Parliament for the Irish nation. But if these huge meetings were disregarded, what was more natural or inevitable than that a certain portion of the people, not reasoning well, stimulated by an impassionate feeling of the wrongs done to their country,

should descend into the ranks, the odious and criminal ranks, of a dark conspiracy? If last year Parliament had refused to extend the franchise, if all our great meetings had been held in vain, if the popular voice had risen so that all the world should have heard but the deaf members of the Imperial Legislature, you would have had in England, I will not say a dark and a criminal conspiracy, but you would have had men who would gradually have worked their way among the people, and would have instructed them in principles and in practices which are near akin to the worst form of criminal conspiracy. There is nothing so safe as great meetings. Come together, look each other in the face, let the men who comprehend the things discuss them fairly, before you consider them well for yourselves, vote by an open free vote in favour of the policy that you require, and let your rulers take that voice as significant of the will of the country, and let them bend to it and give the country that which it demands. That has never been done for Ireland, and it is on this ground, and for this reason, that you have at this moment the terrible and calamitous state of things that exists.

There is no statesmanship merely in acts of force and acts of repression. And worse than that, I have not observed since I have been in Parliament anything on this Irish question that approaches to the dignity of statesmanship. There have been Acts for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, like that which we are now discussing; but there has been no statesmanship. Men, the most clumsy and brutal, can do these things; but we want men of higher temper—men of higher genius—men of higher patriotism, to deal with the affairs of Ireland. . . . All history teaches us that it is not in human nature that men should be content under any system of legislation and of institutions such as exist in Ireland. You may pass this Bill, you may put the Home Secretary's 500 men into gaol—you may do more than this, you may suppress the conspiracy, and put down the insurrection—but the moment it is suppressed there will still remain the germs of this malady, and from those germs will grow up, as heretofore, another crop of insurrection, and another harvest of misfortune. And it may be that those

who sit here eighteen years after this moment [in January, 1886] will find another Ministry and another Secretary of State ready to propose to you another administration of the same ever-failing and ever-poisonous remedies. I say there is a mode of making Ireland loyal.

Take the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Is there in any legislative assembly in the world a man, as the world judges, of more transcendent capacity? I will say even, is there a man with a more honest wish to do good to the country in which he occupies so conspicuous a place? Suppose it were possible for this man, with his intellect, with his far-reaching vision, to examine this question thoroughly and to say for once—whether this leads to office and to the miserable notoriety that men call fame which springs from office, or not—If it be possible, we will act with loyalty to the Sovereign and justice to the people; and if it be possible, we will make Ireland a strength and not a weakness to the British Empire.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer to whom that appeal was addressed was until lately the Prime Minister of England. Surely, he, Mr. Gladstone, has, at length, responded to Mr. Bright's appeal.

Mr. Bright spoke as follows at Liverpool on June 3rd, 1868 :—

I have never said that Irishmen are not at liberty to ask for, and if they could accomplish it, to obtain the repeal of the Union. I say that we have no right whatever to insist upon a union between Ireland and Great Britain upon our terms only. There are those among us who disbelieve in any permanent reconciliation with Great Britain, who think that the only true and lasting remedy for Irish discontent is to be found either in the repeal of the Act of Union or in absolute independence. . . . I am one of those who admit—as every sensible man must admit—that an Act which the Parliament of the United Kingdom has passed the Parliament of the United Kingdom can repeal. And

further, I am willing to admit that everybody in England allows, with regard to every foreign country, that any nation, believing it to be its interest, has a right both to ask for and to strive for national independence.

It is painful to contrast Mr. Bright in these extracts with Mr. Bright in his recent utterances. Nothing could more plainly indicate the sad condition referred to above, which for some time past has been a matter for grave anxiety to his friends. Let us remember him in his days of vigour, and draw the veil over the occasional utterances of his declining years.

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, to whom the temporary defeat of the Home Rule Bill is in some measure due, is a man of a very different stamp. He was a rising man, to whom advanced Radicals looked for good political work in the future ; and many of those who believed him to be thoroughly sound have gone with him in his defection from Mr. Gladstone. Many, on reflection, have returned to the old chief, and many more are in a state of uneasiness at the course they adopted in following Mr. Chamberlain. He, unlike Mr. Bright, has no claim upon our sympathies or respect, and is entitled to no consideration for past services rendered to the

people, since, on the first great occasion, he became a traitor to the people's cause, and, I will venture to say, to his own conscience.

He is a man of acute ability, energetic, and industrious, but altogether wanting in that broad and comprehensive intellect which enables a man to grasp great ideas, and utilize them in the progressive transformations which societies constantly undergo. His knowledge of the details of a vestry would be exhaustive, and his restless energy would, in such a body, soon bring him to the front. Similar abilities soon made him a marked man in the House of Commons, which, in its ordinary work, is but an enlarged vestry; but the introduction of an epoch-making measure was too much for his comparatively narrow mind, and he was unable to realize the successful completion of so great a change. In proof of this I would point to his hesitating conduct, and his sorrowful conviction that he is losing political caste.

The greatness of his mind is not in proportion to the greatness of the position he has attained to. A combination of circumstances has worked in his favour, as we have seen in some other political instances. His knowledge

of details is great, but his knowledge of principles is small; and where, in ambitious men, this is the case, there is invariably an inordinate amount of vanity. That he is extremely vain is well known, and, like most vain men, he is very jealous. It was owing to these two objectionable qualities, together with his belief that his own foolish scheme for Ireland was better than Mr. Gladstone's, that he severed himself from that great statesman. Under Mr. Gladstone's wing Mr. Chamberlain was a power; opposed to Mr. Gladstone he is fast becoming a nonentity. He is not of that stuff of which great leaders are made; and day by day this is becoming more apparent, even to his own followers.

He is, moreover, deficient in moral and physical courage; and almost, if not quite, merits the appellation of coward. He knows full well that in England he may, without fear of physical danger, advocate any political views he pleases, and yet a short time since he told an audience in Scotland, in an unsteady voice, and almost with tears in his eyes, that he was subject to the danger of assassination. When a deputation of respectable, poor working fellow-

townsmen out of employment waited upon him at his own house in Birmingham, to ask his advice and assistance in suggesting or creating temporary employment, he filled his house with policemen, and scarcely ventured out of arm's length of his protectors. The sooner such a man stands before the public in his true character the better. The last few months have nearly divested him of the lion's skin. The Salisburies and the Hartingtons have patted him on the back ; the ladies of these families have, under instructions, smiled upon him, and this has been too much for the successful screw jobber.

The Marquis of Hartington is the third prominent member of the Liberal party to whom the Irish nation is specially indebted for the miscarriage of Mr. Gladstone's measure of justice. I apprehend there are few Radicals, or even moderately-advanced Liberals, who are greatly surprised at Lord Hartington's action. He is a Whig of the Old School, and as aristocratic in his instincts and sentiments as Lord Salisbury himself. The exigencies of party government require a sprinkling of aristocratic families in the " Liberal " party, and Lord

Hartington's family are by tradition and accident members of that party. While a little mild, harmless legislation goes on under the Liberal banner, Lord Hartington is content to "work" with his party; but as soon as any really useful measure is introduced which is to benefit the people, or interferes with the dominance of the privileged classes, he shows at once his true political colour, and sides with the opponents of the people.

Lord Hartington, and all such as he, are real enemies in the guise of friends, and it will be a blessing to the working people when such wolves in sheep's clothing are turned out of the party of progress. This implies, however, a complete re-organization of the people's party. There has been, and is, too great a hankering after titled persons and great plutocrats, who in the very nature of things are opposed to all true progress. They are well content with that state of things which gives them the fat of the land without labour or trouble, and keeps the great body of the people in a condition of subserviency and poverty. The so-called "rights" of the upper classes are the real and bitter wrongs of the people; and it is only the

grossest ignorance on the part of the latter that prevents them from clearly seeing this.

It is pitiful enough to hear a working-man call himself a "moderate Liberal," but, good heavens ! that any man who labours hard during the greater part of his waking hours for a bare subsistence, while he sees five-sixths of his earnings go to support in unbounded luxury a numerous, pompous, insolent, idle class, should call himself a *Conservative*, and wish to perpetuate such an outrageous state of inequality, is more than one can understand, if indeed it does not pass all human understanding. It is due, however, to a lamentable state of ignorance, which the Education Act may do something in the near future to counteract. It is as though a poor over-worked ass were to remonstrate with those who wished to lighten his burdens, thus : " My ancestors, from time immemorial, have been the asses to carry the panniers and burdens of other, and I *will* continue to be the same uncomplaining poor beast of burden as my ancestors were, and carry the panniers and burdens of others, while they take their ease, and reward me with kicks and blows." From the proverbial stupidity of the

poor ass, if he could speak, we might expect some such answer in reply to his friendly mediator and enlightener ; but that any British workman should be such a poor spiritless, foolish ass is really marvellous.

The Home Rule Bill has been wrecked for the time by these three men, Bright, Chamberlain, and Hartington, who are now in close alliance with the Tory party, and voting in favour of the most villainous and atrocious Coercion Bill that was ever presented to Parliament. Let the people clearly understand the objects and aims of Salisbury and his party. The Coercion Bill takes away the entire liberties of the Irish people. The military and police forces are sufficient to enable the Government to fill the gaols, and strike terror into the hearts of the people, and thus destroy all opposition for a time. Having thus prepared the way, the last penny will be wrung out of the Irish for the purchase of the landlord's estates, at prices far beyond their actual value. This will impoverish, almost beyond the power of redemption, the Irish nation ; but this will not satisfy the Government and their landlord friends. And now comes the rub for the

English, Scotch, and Welsh taxpayer. The amounts the landlords will demand for the land they stole from the Irish will be made up by the tax collectors of this country. So that this rascally Tory Land Bill will not only rob the Irish people of every available farthing, but it will actually, by its ingenious device, rob the English taxpayer as well : all of which plunder will go into the pockets of the grinning and delighted landlords. In plain terms, it is nothing less than an organized system of robbery by a gang of conspirators and swindlers of the most dastardly kind. Is this language too strong, reader ? Think of the villainy of such a scheme, and then ask yourself if any language can be too strong to apply to such a precious gang of scoundrels.

It remains to be seen whether the people of this country will permit them to carry out such a barefaced scheme for plundering the poor. The people have borne much, and it is impossible to assign a limit to their forbearance, or, to call it by its right name, their stupidity. That England must grant Home Rule to Ireland at no distant date is an absolute certainty. It is only a bare act of justice ; and once the

light of thoroughly roused public opinion beats upon any great question justice cannot be long delayed. Events march on regardless of man's opposing will ; and they make in the main for justice. The hand of time can neither stand still nor go back ; and it carries with it the continuous destruction of bigotry, prejudice, and injustice.

The majority of the "classes" in England have studiously and persistently, over the Irish question, appealed to the worst passions of Englishmen. The Tory Government and their followers in Parliament and out of Parliament, the swashbucklers of the clubs, the parasites of the court, the most widely circulated organs of the press, the self-sufficient judge upon the bench, and all the fawning sycophants of the nation, have kept up a continuous howl to the English people that Home Rule for Ireland means the disintegration of the British empire, and a weak and cowardly concession to fear on the part of England. It remains to be seen whether or not the English people will be guided by this blatant and vile crew. I believe the juster and nobler instincts of the manhood of England will prevail over the base influences

by which we are surrounded, and that the people will be intelligent enough to see through the cuckoo cry of "danger to the empire," and brave enough to treat with contempt the cunning dodge of the Tories and their friends in trying to rouse the jingo passions of the people.

If there would be danger to the happiness and prosperity of the English people in Ireland being detached from the crown of Great Britain, that danger is most certainly incurred by a continuance on the old lines of policy. For I firmly believe that the progress of events has now rendered the prolongation of such policy utterly impossible, and that the attempt *must* result very shortly in the complete separation of the two countries. The power of Ireland is growing immensely, and if her just demands are again ignored, for the thousandth time, the breach that separates the two countries will become wider and wider, until the accumulation of the bitter hatreds of centuries will be such that, to quote the words of Milton, "Never can true reconciliation grow, where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep."

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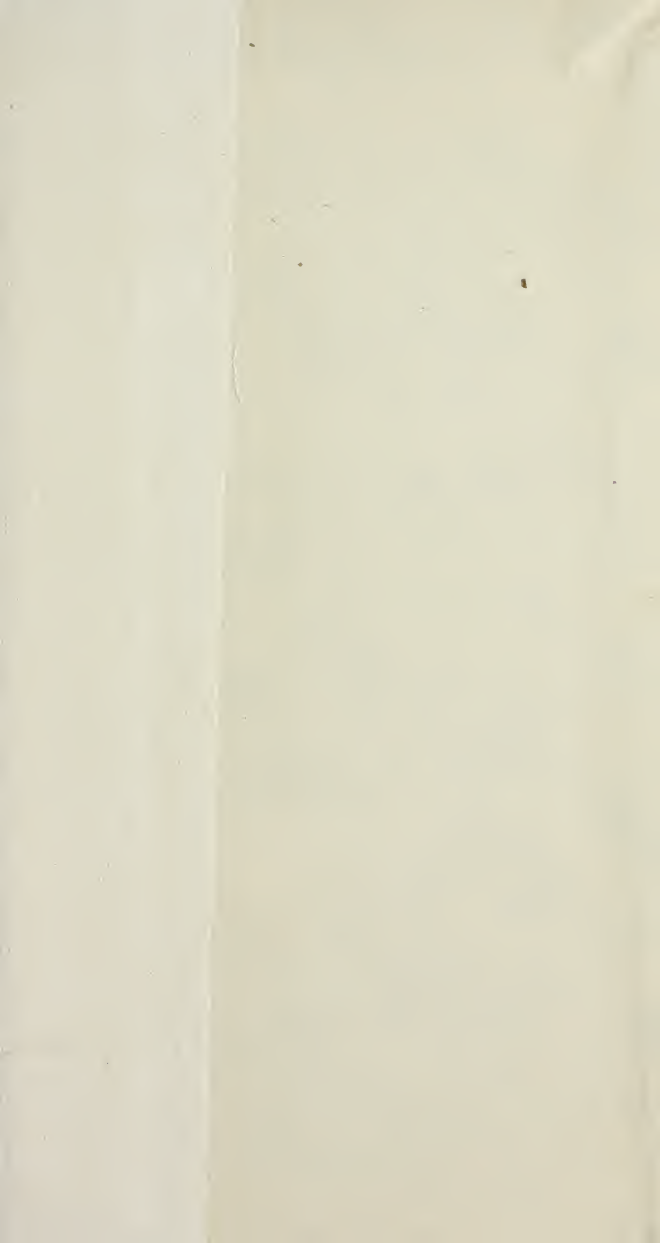
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